A

VOYAGE TO ABYSSINIA.

BY FATHER JEROME LOBO,
A PORTUGUESE MISSIONARY.

CONTAINING THE

HISTORY, NATURAL, CIVIL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL,
OF THAT REMOTE AND UNFREQUENTED COUNTRY,

Continued down to the beginning of the *Eighteenth Century*:

WITH

FIFTEEN DISSERTATIONS
On various SUBJECTS,

RELATING TO THE ANTIQUITIES, GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, MANNERS, AND NATURAL HISTORY, OF ABYSSINIA.

BY M. LE GRAND.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY

Samuel Johnſon, LL. D.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

VARIOUS OTHER TRACTS
BY THE SAME AUTHOR,

Not Publiſhed by Sir JOHN HAWKINS or Mr STOCKDALE.

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M,DCC,LXXXIX.


BRITISH MUSEUM

TO

ARTHUR MURPHY, Esq.

THIS VOLUME OF THE WORKS

OF HIS LATE GREAT AND LEARNED FRIEND,

IS INSCRIBED

BY ONE WHO JOINS IN THE GENERAL REGRET

THAT HE WAS NOT THE BIOGRAPHER OF

DR JOHNSON:

BECAUSE, THOUGH UNKNOWN TO MR MURPHY,

HE ADMIRES HIS ABILITIES; AND IS,

WITH GREAT SINCERITY,

HIS RESPECTFUL

HUMBLE SERVANT,

GEORGE GLEIG.

STIRLING,
Dec. 1. 1788.

GENERAL PREFACE.

AS a critic, a moraliſt, and an elegant writer, Dr JOHNSON ſtood ſo high in the ranks of learning, that a complete edition of his works would undoubtedly be acceptable to every lover of letters and of virtue. Such an edition the public expected, when one of his oldeſt and moſt intimate friends undertook to be the *guardian of his fame*, as well as *an executor of his will*. It is needleſs to add that the general expectation has been fruſtrated.

FOR diſcharging the duties of an *executor*, SIR JOHN HAWKINS is probably well qualified: but he ſeems not even to *know* what belongs to the office of him who undertakes to be the *guardian of a man's fame*; and for his exertions in that capacity he has incurred much cenſure, and is certainly intitled to no praiſe. As a *biographer*, his reflections are often unjuſt and generally malevolent; as an *editor*, his miſtakes are numerous; as a *critic*, his taſte is deplorable; as a *writer*, his ſtyle is tedious and perplexed; and in the character of a *magiſtrate*, in which he appears on all occaſions, his vanity and egotiſm are in a high degree diſguſting *.

THAT

* For a juſt eſtimate of Sir John's merits in the various capacities of a *biographer*, an *egotiſt*, a *relater of facts*, a *book-maker*, a *politician*, a *moraliſt*, a *critic*, and an *editor*, the *Monthly Review* for July 1787

may

THAT ſuch a man, if reſolved not to publiſh the *whole* of his author's works, ſhould have made an injudicious ſelection, and a prepoſterous arrangement of thoſe which he *choſe* to publiſh, can excite no wonder. But it is ſurely ſurpriſing, that the muſical knight, who, though deſtitute of taſte, muſt be ſuppoſed to have an *ear*, could for a moment imagine, that the *Apotheoſis of Milton* was written by JOHNSON; or that in his collection of the Works of that nervous and elegant writer, he ſhould have inſerted things which, by a total want

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may be conſulted. What is there ſaid of his critical talents is ſo excellent, that the reader will not be ill pleaſed to find it here.——"Can it be expected (ſays the maſterly writer of that article), that he whoſe reading is confined to old homilies and the ſtatute-book, ſhould have a true reliſh for the beauties of compoſition? He ventures, notwithſtanding, to talk of propriety and elegance of language. He thinks that JOHNSON owed the excellencies of his ſtyle to the divines and others of the laſt century, ſuch as *Hooker*, *Sanderſon*, *Taylor*, and *Sir Thomas Browne*. He would therefore have us write at this day as if we lived above a century and a half ago. He adds, that JOHNSON admired *Cowley* for the eaſe and unaffected ſtructure of his periods. If he did, it is wonderful that he deviated ſo widely from that elegant model. COWLEY is at the head of thoſe who cultivated an eaſy, clear, and natural ſtyle. *Dryden*, *Tillotſon*, and *Sir William Temple* followed: *Addiſon*, *Swift*, *Pope* (we include the writers of the Spectator), completed the work. Of *Addiſon*, Johnſon uſed to ſay, *he is the Raphael of eſſay-writers*. Sir John is of a different opinion: Addiſon he thinks deſerving of praiſe, if we make *his cold and languid periods* the teſt of elegant compoſition. Our critic loves the antiquated phraſe of the ſtate-papers in the *Cabala*, and the precatory eloquence of former ages. The characteriſtics of Addiſon, he ſays, are *feebleneſs and inanity*, though his *ſentiments* are *excellent*, and his *humour exquiſite*. What does Sir John mean? Where there are ſentiment and humour, can there be *inanity*? He allows with Johnſon, that his proſe *is the model of the middle ſtyle*. The misfortune is, he thinks the *middle ſtyle* and a *middling ſtyle* ſynonymous terms. He does not know, that by the ableſt critics ſtyle has been

of harmony in the cadence of their periods, appear evidently to be the productions of an inferior pen, whilſt he has omitted others that are undoubtedly genuine, and at the ſame time of higher importance.

His omiſſions have, in a great meaſure, been ſupplied by Mr Stockdale; to whom the public is under conſiderable obligations for the pleaſure of peruſing the famous *debates in Parliament*, as well as various other tracts equally elegant and intereſting contained in what he calls the *twelfth*, *thirteenth*, and *fourteenth* volumes of the Works of Dr Johnson. But neither is Mr Stockdale quite free from miſtakes, nor his laſt volume wholly genuine. *The Memoirs of* Dr Berkeley BISHOP

been diſtinguiſhed into three modes, the *ſublime*, the *ſimple*, and the *florid* or *mixed*; and that the laſt, holding often the qualities of the two others, is called the *middle ſtyle*. Becauſe the laſt is aſcribed to Addiſon, the knight concludes that Johnſon meant to call him a *Mediocriſt*. The fact is, Johnſon had taſte enough to reliſh Addiſon, though he did not copy him. It may be true that Johnſon took an early tincture from the writers of the laſt century, particularly from *Sir Thomas Browne*. Hence the peculiarities of his ſtyle, new combinations, ſentences of an unuſual form, and words derived from the learned languages. He did not remember the obſervation of *Dryden*: *If too many foreign words are poured in upon us, it looks as if they were deſigned not to aſſiſt the natives, but to conquer them.* It is remarkable that the life of *Savage* is written with eaſe. The pomp of diction was aſſumed in the Rambler, and ſeems to be diſcarded by Johnſon in his latter productions. Sir John moſt probably acquired his notions of language at his maſter's deſk: he admired the phraſeology of deeds and parchments; *whereof*, to ſpeak in his own manner, he read ſo much, that in conſequence *thereof* he has been chiefly converſant *therein*; and by the help of the parchments *aforeſaid*, he has not much improved *thereby*, but has entirely miſſed the elegance *above mentioned*, and uſes words, that *in them* we ſometimes meet with; and, being bred an attorney, he caught the language of *the ſaid trade*, *whereof* he retains ſo much, that he is now rendered an incompetent critic *thereby*, and in conſequence *thereof*."

BISHOP *of* CLOYNE, and *the preface to* KENNEDY's *Scripture Chronology*, were certainly not written by the author of the Rambler. In oppoſition to the cleareſt *internal* evidence, that *preface* is aſcribed to him on the authority of Sir JOHN HAWKINS: but the knight only ſays, that "he uſhered the Chronology into the world;" and Mr KENNEDY's ſon, the preſent rector of *Langley* in *Kent*, affirms, that his father was indebted to JOHNSON for none of the appendages of his learned Work but the *Dedication*; which indeed proclaims its author in every ſentence.

BY whom *the Memoirs of* BISHOP BERKELEY were written is unknown to the preſent Editor: but he is authoriſed by the ſon of that celebrated prelate to declare, that, ſhort as thoſe memoirs are, they contain much falſehood and very little truth; that many years after they were firſt publiſhed, Dr JOHNSON aſked from him materials for the life of his father; that thoſe materials were then refuſed; and that, in conſequence of the refuſal, the intended life was never written *.

FOR

* Suſpecting that *the Memoirs of Biſhop Berkeley* were not written by Johnſon, but unwilling to advance any thing upon the ſlippery ground of internal evidence, the Editor applied for information to the prelate's ſon, who writes as follows:

"My dear Sir, *Cookham, Berks, 19th Nov.* 1788.

"Your letter having lain at my houſe in town, it reached me only this morning: and I delay not a day to inform you, that the wonderfully abſurd thing in Stockdale's fourteenth volume, called *Memoirs of Biſhop Berkeley*, was not written by Dr Johnſon. That great man had a wiſh to be my father's biographer; but when applied to long after theſe memoirs had made their firſt appearance, I declined to furniſh him with materials for the purpoſe. You may be ſure I had ſome cogent reaſon for acting thus: it was as follows. At the chambers of the worthy

For theſe, as well as his own miſtakes, Sir JOHN HAWKINS alone is anſwerable. Had not he thruſt himſelf into an office which he is ſo little qualified to fill, and

thy maſter of Univerſity College, I had ſpent an evening with JOHNSON, the preſent DEAN of CANTERBURY, Dr VANSITTART, and Sir ROBERT CHAMBERS. JOHNSON brought upon the carpet the ſubject of my father's plan for erecting *St Paul's College* on the iſland of *Bermuda;* and lamented, in his grandiloquous ſtyle, that ſo pious and beneficent a deſign had not been concerted with more prudence. "For (ſaid he) had not a corrupt adminiſtration defeated the biſhop's deſign, it muſt in a ſhort time have defeated itſelf. The *fellows of St Paul's College* would ſoon have degenerated into *farmers* or *merchants;* the love of money would have proved too ſtrong for the love of learning." Young as I was, and prepoſſeſſed with the higheſt veneration for Johnſon, to whom I had juſt been introduced for the firſt time, I inſtantly threw behind me every conſideration, which regarded not truth and my father's fair fame, —and aſked my antagoniſt, Whether he had ever read BISHOP BERKELEY'S propoſal for founding that American univerſity? and whether he was accurately acquainted with the extent, produce, and ſituation of Bermuda? To the *former* part of my queſtion he replied in the negative; to the latter he anſwered nothing. On this I admoniſhed him to be in future leſs ready to cenſure venerable characters, or to impute his own *neſcience* to others as *imprudence;* for that had he read the pamphlet publiſhed thrice on this ſubject, he muſt have ſeen the biſhop's conſummate wiſdom guarding againſt every inconvenience which commerce or agriculture might occaſion. Farmers the *fellows* could hardly have become, as their eſtates were all of them to be purchaſed on the continent of *North America*, at the diſtance of a week's voyage; and the iſland of Bermuda, bleſſed as it may be with a fine climate, is ſo begirt with rocks, and its harbours ſo ill calculated for ſhipping, that it could never be the ſeat of ſuch commerce as to call the minds of tutors from nobler purſuits. Johnſon was ſurpriſed and ſilenced; and on my leaving the room, being aſked why he ſo rudely attacked my father's ſcheme? he replied, *I thought the young man might be vain, as well he may, of ſuch a father; and ſo I reſolved to keep him humble by diſcuſſing the plan in that manner.* When *Mr Allen*, late vice-principal of Magdalene-hall, Oxford, applied to me for materials to enable his friend

and claimed it by an engagement * ſo ſacred as to keep others at a diſtance, there would ſurely have been found among JOHNSON's friends *ſome guardian of his fame* equal to the taſk of doing juſtice to his character, and giving to the public a correct edition of his Works; and we ſhould not, to day, have been aſcribing to him what was written by another, or complaining, that of the moſt elegant and judicious biographer that has appeared ſince PLUTARCH, the only complete account, which is yet extant, is ſuch a performance as no man can read twice.

THAT the tracts, which are now offered to the public, are the genuine offspring of JOHNSON's pen, may be evinced by evidence which cannot be reſiſted. The tranſ-

friend Johnſon to write the life of a man who did honour to human nature, I gave this relation of that rough converſation as my reaſon for declining to comply with his requeſt. I have often wiſhed that I had acted otherwiſe, as Johnſon, in the progreſs of his biography, might have been led to examine, and give a fair view of ſome of my father's works, which I am perſuaded he never read, and which have been ſtrangely miſrepreſented by many who have read them, eſpecially among your countrymen. My grandfather Berkeley was no clergyman; nor is there any truth in that ſtrange anecdote of my father when at college, and which I remember to have read in theſe fictitious memoirs when firſt publiſhed. As you ſay you are to ſend your miſcellany to the preſs by the end of next week, I write to you *currente calamo;* and you may make what uſe you liſt of the intelligence now ſent you by,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate and obedient Servant,

GEO. BERKELEY."

* The knight *ſays*, "that he ſtood engaged by a promiſe made to Johnſon a ſhort time before his deceaſe, to be as well the *guardian of his fame*, as an executor of his will."

tranſlation of *Lobo's Voyage to Abyſſinia* he frequently claimed as his own; and his claim has never been controverted. The two letters, together with the *Nugæ Anapeſticæ*, were received from the family of Dr LAURENCE. And the ſeveral reviews, with the dedication of *the Evangelical Hiſtory harmonized*, are aſcribed to him by a lady to whom he was long known, whoſe mind he ſucceſsfully cultivated, and whoſe name, were it mentioned, would remove every ſuſpicion. Indeed the author of theſe elegant tracts cannot be miſtaken: in every ſentence they exhibit JOHNSON's ſtyle and manner of thinking; and in two of the Reviews will be found the preciſe ſentiments, clothed in almoſt the very language which he has elſewhere uſed, when ſpeaking of the genius of POPE and the piety of WATTS. The only thing in the volume of which the editor entertains any doubt, is the tranſlation of *the Table of Cebes*. Common report gives it to JOHNSON. The learned writers of *the Monthly Review*, who appear to be intimately acquainted with his labours, as well as juſt to his merits, acquieſce in that report: and it is a performance of which no man would have cauſe to be aſhamed. If it be *his*, it ought to have a place among his Works: if it be the production of another pen, it will be rejected from that complete and regular edition of thoſe works, which will ſurely be publiſhed as ſoon as the odd volumes ſhall be diſpoſed of, which are now in circulation; and at all events, it is *a picture of human life and manners* which deſerves to be univerſally known, and which no good man will be ſorry to find in the preſent miſcellany.

SINCE Sir JOHN HAWKINS has deemed ſeveral reviews of books, which were written for periodical publications, not unworthy of a place in his collection of the

the Works of JOHNSON, it is not eaſy to conceive why theſe were omitted to which the preſent Editor ventures to ſolicit the attention of the public. Compared with the critical eſſays in the *Rambler*, or with *the Lives of the Britiſh Poets*, they are not perhaps intitled to the higheſt praiſe: but the review *of the Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope*, is ſurely more entertaining than that of Sir ISAAC NEWTON's letters to Dr BENTLEY; and the account of *the Hiſtory of Aleppo* more uſeful than the ſevere remarks on *the Memoirs of the Court of Auguſtus*.

OF theſe papers, however, the omiſſion is comparatively of no great conſequence. But could wonder be excited by any thing which SIR JOHN, as an editor, has either done or omitted to do, it would be by his neglecting to republiſh the tranſlation of *the Voyage to Abyſſinia*. That work is now very little known; and yet to every lover of letters it muſt ſurely be intereſting, if, for no other reaſon, than that it was the firſt effort of an author, who, "amidſt inconvenience and diſtraction, in ſickneſs and in ſorrow," roſe by the innate vigour of his mind to the higheſt pitch of literary eminence.

THE knight, indeed, ſays, that "were we to reſt our judgment on internal evidence, JOHNSON's claim to the title of tranſlator of this work would be diſputable; it has ſcarce a feature reſembling him: the language is as ſimple and unornamented as JOHN BUNYAN's: the ſtyle is far from elegant, and ſometimes it is not even correct." Should the reader from this imagine, that it was tenderneſs to his friend's reputation which prevented *the guardian of* JOHNSON's *fame* from republiſhing *the Voyage to Abyſſinia*, let him peruſe, as an exerciſe

ciſe of patience, *the life* * of that eminent writer, which *the executor of his will* has prefixed to his works; and all *ſuch* imaginations will vaniſh from his mind.

THE language of the tranſlation, like that of the original, is indeed ſimple and unornamented; but it is no otherwiſe incorrect than through the blunders of the printer, which, though uncommonly numerous, might ſurely have been diſtinguiſhed from the unſkilfulneſs of the writer by that *penetrating* judgment which has diſcovered ADDISON to have been a writer of *inanity*, SWIFT to have been totally *illiterate*, and JOHNSON himſelf to have been an *incompetent critic*.

BUT had the language been ever ſo incorrect; had the ſtyle been as inelegant as that of the moſt prolix and rambling biographer; ſtill the *ſubject* of the volume ſhould have reſcued it from oblivion: for though, concerning Abyſſinia, much curioſity has of late been excited, nothing has yet been done by which it may be gratified. The public, indeed, has reaſon to expect ſoon a full account of that country from the pen of the celebrated traveller Mr BRUCE; but the price at which a work, ſo elegant and extenſive as his, can be afforded, muſt be too high for many readers, who may yet wiſh to know ſomething of a people, whoſe *manners*, *cuſtoms*, *religion*, and *government*, will probably, for a time, furniſh the topics of converſation: and this knowledge may be obtained from Father LOBO and M. LE GRAND; whoſe Engliſh dreſs, it is hoped, will be found

* A juvenile and lively writer has, with great propriety, termed that wonderful performance *a comprehenſive libel*. It is indeed comprehenſive; for it contains anecdotes and characters of a number of perſons totally unconnected with Johnſon; and every character is an aukward lampoon.——See the *Siege of Rhodes*, edit. 2d.

free from many of the faults by which it was formerly diſgraced.

To conclude: The Editor of the volume, which is now reſpectfully offered to the public, is perſuaded, that, by reſcuing from oblivion the various tracts of which it is compoſed, he affords his contemperaries an opportunity of acquiring both harmleſs amuſement and uſeful information; and that he does no injury to the fame of Dr JOHNSON, of whom, in the character of a *moraliſt*, a *biographer*, a *critic*, and a *poet*, it may with truth be ſaid

——Pectus præceptis format amicis
Aſperitatis et invidiæ corrector et iræ:
Recté facta refert; orientia tempora notis
Inſtruit exemplis; inopem ſolatur et ægrum.

DR

DR JOHNSON's PREFACE TO FATHER LOBO's VOYAGE, &c.

THE following relation is ſo curious and entertaining, and the diſſertations that accompany it ſo judicious and inſtructive, that the tranſlator is confident his attempt ſtands in need of no apology, whatever cenſures may fall on the performance.

THE Portugueſe traveller, contrary to the general vein of his countrymen, has amuſed his reader with no romantic abſurdities or incredible fictions: whatever he relates, whether true or not, is at leaſt probable; and he who tells nothing exceeding the bounds of probability, has a right to demand, that they ſhould believe him who cannot contradict him.

HE appears, by his modeſt and unaffected narration, to have deſcribed things as he ſaw them; to have copied nature from the life; and to have conſulted his ſenſes not his imagination. He meets with no baſiliſks that deſtroy with their eyes; his crocodiles devour their prey without tears; and his cataracts fall from the rock without deafening the neighbouring inhabitants.

THE reader will here find no regions curſed with irremediable barrenneſs, or bleſſed with ſpontaneous fe-

cundity; no perpetual gloom or unceaſing ſunſhine: nor are the nations here deſcribed either void of all ſenſe of humanity, or conſummate in all private and ſocial virtues: here are no Hottentots without religion, polity, or articulate language; no Chineſe perfectly polite, and compſetely ſkilled in all ſciences: He will diſcover, what will always be diſcovered by a diligent and impartial enquirer, that wherever human nature is to be found, there is a mixture of vice and virtue, a conteſt of paſſion and reaſon; and that the Creator doth not appear partial in his diſtributions, but has balanced in moſt countries their particular inconveniences by particular favours.

IN his account of the miſſion, where his veracity is moſt to be ſuſpected, he neither exaggerates overmuch the merits of the Jeſuits, if we conſider the partial regard paid by the Portugueſe to their countrymen, by the Jeſuits to their ſociety, and by the Papiſts to their church, nor aggravates the vices of the Abyſſins: but if the reader will not be ſatisfied with a popiſh account of a popiſh miſſion, he may have recourſe to the hiſtory of the church of Abyſſinia, written by Dr Geddes, in which he will find the actions and ſufferings of the miſſionaries placed in a different light, though the ſame in which Mr Le Grand, with all his zeal for the Roman church, appears to have ſeen them.

THIS learned diſſertator, however valuable for his induſtry and erudition, is yet more to be eſteemed for having dared ſo freely, in the midſt of France, to declare his diſapprobation of the patriarch Oviedo's ſanguinary zeal, who was continually importuning the Portugueſe to beat up their drums for miſſionaries, who might preach the goſpel with ſwords in their hands, and propagate

pagate by deſolation and ſlaughter the true worſhip of the God of peace.

It is not eaſy to forbear reflecting with how little reaſon theſe men profeſs themſelves the followers of Jeſus, who left this great characteriſtic to his diſciples, that they ſhould be known by loving one another, by univerſal and unbounded charity and benevolence.

Let us ſuppoſe an inhabitant of ſome remote and ſuperior region, yet unſkilled in the ways of men, having read and conſidered the precepts of the goſpel, and the example of our Saviour, to come down in ſearch of the true church: If he would not enquire after it among the cruel, the inſolent, and the oppreſſive; among thoſe who are continually graſping at dominion over ſouls as well as bodies; among thoſe who are employed in procuring to themſelves impunity for the moſt enormous villanies, and ſtudying methods of deſtroying their fellow-creatures, not for their crimes but their errors: If he would not expect to meet benevolence engaged in maſſacres, or to find mercy in a court of inquiſition,—he would not look for the true church in the church of Rome.

Mr Le Grand has given in one diſſertation an example of great moderation, in deviating from the temper of his religion; but in the others has left proofs, that learning and honeſty are often too weak to oppoſe prejudice. He has made no ſcruple of preferring the teſtimony of father du Bernat to the writings of all the Portugueſe jeſuits, to whom he allows great zeal, but little learning, without giving any other reaſon than that his favourite was a Frenchman. This is writing only to Frenchmen and to papiſts: A proteſtant would be deſirous to know why he muſt imagine that father du Bernat had a cooler head or more knowledge; and

why one man, whoſe account is ſingular, is not more likely to be miſtaken than many agreeing in the ſame account.

IF the Portugueſe were biaſſed by any particular views, another biaſs, equally powerful, may have deflected the Frenchman from the truth; for they evidently write with contrary deſigns: the Portugueſe, to make their miſſion ſeem more neceſſary, endeavoured to place in the ſtrongeſt light the differences between the Abyſſinian and Roman church; but the great Ludolfus laying hold on the advantage, reduced theſe latter writers to prove their conformity.

UPON the whole, the controverſy ſeems of no great importance to thoſe who believe the holy ſcriptures ſufficient to teach the way of ſalvation; but of whatever moment it may be thought, there are not proofs ſufficient to decide it.

HIS diſcourſes on indifferent ſubjects will divert as well as inſtruct: and if either in theſe or in the relation of father Lobo, any argument ſhall appear unconvincing, or deſcription obſcure, they are defects incident to all mankind; which, however, are not too raſhly to be imputed to the authors, being ſometimes, perhaps, more juſtly chargeable on the tranſlator.

IN this tranſlation (if it may be ſo called) great liberties have been taken, which, whether juſtifiable or not, ſhall be fairly confeſſed; and let the judicious part of mankind pardon or condemn them.

IN the firſt part the greateſt freedom has been uſed in reducing the narration into a narrow compaſs; ſo that it is by no means a tranſlation but an epitome, in which whether every thing either uſeful or entertaining be compriſed, the compiler is leaſt qualified to determine.

IN the account of Abyſſinia, and the continuation, the

the authors have been followed with more exactneſs; and as few paſſages appeared either inſignificant or tedious, few have been either ſhortened or omitted.

THE diſſertations are the only part in which an exact tranſlation has been attempted; and even in thoſe, abſtracts are ſometimes given inſtead of literal quotations, particularly in the firſt; and ſometimes other parts have been contracted.

SEVERAL memorials and letters, which are printed at the end of the diſſertations to ſecure the credit of the foregoing narrative, are entirely left out.

IT is hoped, that after this confeſſion, whoever ſhall compare this attempt with the original, if he ſhall find no proofs of fraud or partiality, will candidly overlook any failure of judgment.

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A VOYAGE TO ABYSSINIA.

CHAP. I.

The Author arrives after ſome difficulties at Goa. Is choſen for the Miſſion of Ethiopia. The fate of thoſe Jeſuits who went by Zeila. The Author arrives at the coaſt of Melinda.

I EMBARKED in March 1622, in the ſame fleet with the Count Vidigueira, on whom the king had conferred the viceroy-ſhip of the Indies, then vacant by the reſignation of Alfonſo Noronha, whoſe unſucceſsful voyage in the foregoing year had been the occaſion of the loſs of Ormus *; which, being by the miſcarriage of that fleet

A deprived

* Ormus, an iſland of great wealth and commodiouſneſs in the Perſian Gulf, ſince retaken by the Portugueſe in 1729.

deprived of the ſuccours neceſſary for its defence, was taken by the Perſians and Engliſh. The beginning of this voyage was very proſperous: We were neither annoyed with the diſeaſes of the climate, nor diſtreſſed with bad weather, till we doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which was about the end of May. Here began our misfortunes; theſe coaſts are remarkable for the many ſhipwrecks the Portugueſe have ſuffered. The ſea is for the moſt part rough, and the winds tempeſtuous. We had here our rigging ſomewhat damaged by a ſtorm of lightning, which when we had repaired, we ſailed forward to Moſambique †, where we were to ſtay ſome time. When we came near that coaſt, and began to rejoice at the proſpect of eaſe and refreſhment, we were, on the ſudden, alarmed with the ſight of a ſquadron of ſhips, of what nation we could not at firſt diſtinguiſh, but ſoon diſcovered that they were three Engliſh and three Dutch, and were preparing to attack us. I ſhall not trouble the reader with the particulars of this fight, in which, though the Engliſh commander ran himſelf aground, we loſt three of our ſhips, and with great difficulty eſcaped with the reſt into the port of Moſambique.

This place was able to afford us little conſolation in our uneaſy circumſtances: the arrival of our company almoſt cauſed a ſcarcity of proviſions. The heat in the day is intolerable, and the dews in the night ſo unwholeſome, that it is almoſt certain death to go out with one's head uncovered. Nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the malignant quality of the air, than that the ruſt will immediately corrode both the iron and braſs, if they are not

† Moſambique, a city of Zanquebar, on the coaſt of Afric, in an iſland near the Continent, at the mouth of a river of the ſame name, which there falls into the Ethiopic ſea.

not carefully covered with ſtraw. We ſtaid, however, in this place from the latter end of July to the beginning of September; when, having provided ourſelves with other veſſels, we ſet out for Cochim *, and landed there after a very hazardous and difficult paſſage; made ſo partly by the currents and ſtorms which ſeparated us from each other, and partly by continual apprehenſions of the Engliſh and Dutch, who were cruiſing for us in the Indian ſeas. Here the viceroy and his company were received with ſo much ceremony, as was rather troubleſome than pleaſing to us who were fatigued with the labours of the paſſage; and having ſtaid here ſome time, that the gentlemen who attended the viceroy to Goa †, might fit out their veſſels, we ſet ſail; and after having been detained ſome time at ſea, by calms and contrary winds, and ſomewhat haraſſed by the Engliſh and Dutch, who were now increaſed to eleven ſhips of war, arrived at Goa on Saturday the 16th of December, and the viceroy made his entry with great magnificence.

I lived here above a year, and completed my ſtudies in divinity; in which time ſome letters were received from the fathers in Ethiopia, with an account that Sultan Segued, emperor of Abyſſinia, was converted to the Church of Rome; that many of his ſubjects had followed his example; and that there was a great want of miſſionaries to improve theſe proſperous beginnings. Every body was very deſirous of ſeconding the zeal of our

* A city of Aſia, in the Eaſt Indies, in the Promontory of Malabar, a biſhopric under the archbiſhop of Goa, built by the Portugueſe in 1503.

† Goa, a city of Aſia, in the kingdom of Decan, in the Peninſula on this ſide the Indus, in a ſmall iſland towards the mouth of the river Mandova, on the ſhores of the Promontory of Cunean, on the weſt ſhore of the Cape of Malabar.

fathers, and of ſending them the aſſiſtance they requeſted; to which we were the more encouraged, becauſe the emperor's letters informed our provincial, that we might eaſily enter his dominions by the way of Dancala*; but unhappily the ſecretary wrote Zeila† for Dancala, which coſt two of our fathers their lives.

We were, however, notwithſtanding the aſſurances given us by the emperor, ſufficiently appriſed of the danger which we were expoſed to in this expedition, whether we went by ſea or land. By ſea, we foreſaw the hazard we run of falling into the hands of the Turks, amongſt whom we ſhould loſe, if not our lives, at leaſt our liberty, and be for ever prevented from reaching the court of Ethiopia. Upon this conſideration, our ſuperiors divided the eight Jeſuits choſen for this miſſion into two companies. Four they ſent by ſea, and four by land; I was of the latter number. The four firſt were the more fortunate, who, though they were detained ſome time by the Turkiſh Baſſa, were diſmiſſed at the requeſt of the emperor, who ſent him a Zeura, or wild-aſs, a creature of large ſize, and admirable beauty.

As for us who were to go by Zeila, we had ſtill greater difficulties to ſtruggle with: We were entirely ſtrangers to the ways we were to take, to the manners, and even to the names of the nations through which we were to paſs. Our chief deſire was to diſcover ſome new road by which we might avoid having any thing to do with the Turks. Among great numbers whom we

* Dancala, a city of Afric in the upper Ethiopia, upon the river Nile in the tract of Nubia, of which it is the capital.

† Zeila, a city in the kingdom of Adel in Afric, at the mouth of the Red ſea, upon the outlet of a river of the ſame name over againſt Adel.

we conſulted on this occaſion, we were informed by ſome that we might go through Melinda *. Theſe men painted that hideous wilderneſs in charming colours, told us that we ſhould find a country watered with navigable rivers, and inhabited by a people that would either inform us of the way, or accompany us in it. Theſe reports charmed us, becauſe they flattered our deſires; but our ſuperiors finding nothing in all this talk that could be depended on, were in ſuſpence what directions to give us, till my companion and I, upon this reflection, that ſince all the ways were equally new to us, we had nothing to do but to reſign ourſelves to the providence of God, aſked and obtained the permiſſion of our ſuperiors to attempt the road through Melinda. So of us who went by land, two took the way of Zeila, and my companion and I that of Melinda.

Thoſe who were appointed for Zeila embarked in a veſſel that was going to Caxume †, where they were well received by the king, and accommodated with a ſhip to carry them to Zeila; they were there treated by the Check with the ſame civility which they had met with at Caxume. But the king being informed of their arrival, ordered them to be conveyed to his court at Auxa; to which place they were ſcarce come, before they were thrown, by the king's command, into a dark and diſmal dungeon, where there is hardly any ſort of cruelty that was not exerciſed upon them. The emperor of Abyſſinia

* Melinda, the ſtate of this country is now much changed; it is a kingdom of Afric upon the coaſt of Zanquebar, divided by the equator, with a city of the ſame name, ſubject to the Portugueſe, who have, (though the king is a Mahometan) churches for the exerciſe of their religion.

† Caxume, a city of Afric, and the capital of the kingdom of Tigremahon in Abyſſinia, ſubject to the king of Abyſſinia.

endeavoured by large offers to obtain their liberty, but his kind offices had no other effect than to heighten the rage of the king of Zeila. This prince, beſides his ill-will to Sultan Segued, which was kept up by ſome mal-contents among the Abyſſin nobility, who, provoked at the converſion of their maſter, were plotting a revolt, entertained an inveterate hatred againſt the Portugueſe for the death of his grandfather, who had been killed many years before, which he ſwore the blood of the Jeſuits ſhould repay. So after they had languiſhed for ſome time in priſon, their heads were ſtruck off. A fate which had been likewiſe our own, had not God reſerved us for longer labours!

Having provided every thing neceſſary for our journey, ſuch as Arabian habits, and red caps, callicoes, and other trifles to make preſents of to the inhabitants, and taking leave of our friends, as men going to a ſpeedy death; for we were not inſenſible of the dangers we we were likely to encounter, amongſt horrid deſarts, impaſſable mountains, and barbarous nations; we left Goa, on the 26th day of January, in the year 1624, in a Portugueſe galliot that was ordered to ſet us aſhore at Paté *, where we landed, without any diſaſter, in eleven days, together with a young Abyſſin, whom we made uſe of as our interpreter. While we ſtayed here, we were given to underſtand, that thoſe who had been pleaſed at Goa to give us directions in relation to our journey, had done nothing but told us lies; that the people were ſavage; that they had indeed begun to treat with the Portugueſe, but it was only from fear; that otherwiſe they were a barbarous nation, who, finding themſelves too much crowded in their own country, had extended themſelves to the ſea-ſhore; that they ravaged the country,

* Paté, an iſle and town on the coaſt of Zanquebar in Afric.

try, and laid every thing waſte where they came; that they were man-eaters, and were on that account dreadful in all thoſe parts. My companion and I being undeceived by this terrible relation, thought it would be the higheſt imprudence to expoſe ourſelves both together to a death almoſt certain and unprofitable, and agreed that I ſhould go with our Abyſſin and a Portugueſe to obſerve the country; that if I ſhould prove ſo happy as to eſcape being killed by the inhabitants, and to diſcover a way, I ſhould either return, or ſend back the Abyſſin or Portugueſe. Having fixed upon this, I hired a little bark to Jubo, a place about forty leagues diſtant from Pàté, on board which I put ſome proviſions, together with my ſacerdotal veſtments, and all that was neceſſary for ſaying maſs. In this veſſel we reached the coaſt, which we found inhabited by ſeveral nations; each nation is ſubject to its own king, and theſe petty monarchies are ſo numerous, that I counted at leaſt ten in leſs than four leagues.

CHAP. II.

The Author lands: the difficulty of his journey. An account of the Galles, and of the Author's reception at the king's tent; their manner of ſwearing, and of letting blood. The Author returns to the Indies, and finds the patriarch of Ethiopia.

ON this coaſt we landed, with an intention of travelling on foot to Jubo, a journey of much greater length and difficulty than we imagined. We durſt not go far from our bark, and therefore were obliged to a

toilſome march along the windings of the ſhore, ſometimes clambering up rocks, and ſometimes wading thro' the ſands; ſo that we were every moment in the utmoſt danger of falling from the one, or ſinking in the other. Our lodging was either in the rocks or on the ſands, and even that incommoded by continual apprehenſions of being devoured by lions and tygers. Amidſt all theſe calamities, our proviſions failed us; we had little hopes of a ſupply, for we found neither villages, houſes, nor any trace of a human creature; and had miſerably periſhed by thirſt and hunger, had we not met with ſome fiſhermens boats, who exchanged their fiſh for tobacco.

Through all theſe fatigues, we at length came to Jubo, a kingdom of conſiderable extent, ſituated almoſt under the line, and tributary to the Portugueſe, who carry on a trade here for ivory and other commodities. This region ſo abounds with elephants, that though the teeth of the male only are valuable, they load ſeveral ſhips with ivory every year. All this coaſt is much infeſted with ravenous beaſts, monkeys, and ſerpents; of which laſt, here are ſome ſeven feet in length, and thicker than an ordinary man: In the head of this ſerpent is found a ſtone about the bigneſs of an egg, reſembling bezoar, and of great efficacy, as it is ſaid, againſt all kinds of poiſon. I ſtaid here ſome time to inform myſelf, whether I might, by purſuing this road, reach Abyſſinia, and could get no other intelligence, but that two thouſand Galles, (the ſame people who inhabited Melinda) had encamped about three leagues from Jubo; that they had been induced to fix in that place by the plenty of proviſions they found there. Theſe Galles lay every thing where they come in ruin, putting all to the ſword without diſtinction of age or ſex; which barbarities, though their numbers are not great, have ſpread the

terror

terror of them over all the country. They chooſe a king, whom they call Lubo, every eighth year. They carry their wives with them, and expoſe their children without any tenderneſs in the woods, it being prohibited, on pain of death, to take any care of thoſe which are born in the camp. This is their way of living when they are in arms; but afterwards, when they ſettle at home, they breed up their children. They feed upon raw cow's fleſh; when they kill a cow, they keep the blood to rub their bodies with, and wear the guts about their necks for ornaments, which they afterwards give to their wives.

Several of theſe Galles came to ſee me; and as it ſeemed they had never beheld a white man before, they gazed on me with amazement. So ſtrong was their curioſity, that they even pulled off my ſhoes and ſtockings, that they might be ſatisfied whether all my body was of the ſame colour with my face. I could remark, that after they had obſerved me ſome time, they diſcovered ſome averſion from a white. However, ſeeing me pull out my handkerchief, they aſked me for it with a great deal of eagerneſs. I cut it into ſeveral pieces, that I might ſatisfy them all, and diſtributed it amongſt them. They bound them about their heads; but gave me to underſtand that they ſhould have liked them better if they had been red. After this we were ſeldom without their company, which gave occaſion to an accident, which, though it ſeemed to threaten ſome danger at firſt, turned afterward to our advantage.

As theſe people were continually teaſing us, our Portugueſe one day threatened in jeſt to kill one of them. The black ran in the utmoſt dread to ſeek his comrades, and we were, in one moment, almoſt covered with Galles. We thought it the moſt proper courſe to decline

cline the firſt impulſe of their fury, and retired into our houſe. Our retreat inſpired them with courage; they redoubled their cries, and poſted themſelves on an eminence near at hand that overlooked us, there they inſulted us by brandiſhing their lances and daggers. We were fortunately not above a ſtone's caſt from the ſea, and could therefore have retreated to our bark, had we found ourſelves reduced to extremities; this made us not very ſolicitous about their menaces. But finding that they continued to hover about our habitation, and being wearied with their clamours, we thought it might be a good expedient to fright them away by firing four muſkets towards them, in ſuch a manner, that they might hear the bullets hiſs about two feet over their heads. This had the effect we wiſhed; the noiſe and fire of our arms ſtruck them with ſo much terror, that they fell upon the ground, and durſt not for ſome time ſo much as lift up their heads. They forgot immediately their natural temper; their ferocity and haughtineſs were ſoftened into mildneſs and ſubmiſſion; they aſked pardon for their inſolence, and we were ever after good friends.

After our reconciliation we viſited each other frequently, and had ſome converſation about the journey I had undertaken, and the deſire I had of finding a new paſſage into Ethiopia. It was neceſſary on this account to conſult their Lubo, or king; I found him in a ſtraw hut, ſomething larger than thoſe of his ſubjects, ſurrounded by his courtiers, who had each a ſtick in his hand, which is longer or ſhorter according to the quality of the perſon admitted into the king's preſence. The ceremony made uſe of at the reception of a ſtranger is ſomewhat unuſual; aſſoon as he enters, all the courtiers ſtrike him with their cudgels till he goes back to the door; the amity then ſubſiſting between us did not ſecure

cure me from this uncouth reception, which they told me, upon my demanding the reaſon of it, was to ſhew thoſe whom they treated with, that they were the braveſt people in the world, and that all other nations ought to bow down before them. I could not help reflecting on this occaſion, how imprudently I had truſted my life in the hands of men unacquainted with compaſſion or civility; but recollecting at the ſame time, that the intent of my journey was ſuch as might give me hopes of the divine protection, I baniſhed all thoughts but thoſe of finding a way into Ethiopia. In this ſtrait it occurred to me, that theſe people, however barbarous, have ſome oath which they keep with an inviolable ſtrictneſs; the beſt precaution therefore that I could uſe would be to bind them by this oath to be true to their engagements. The manner of their ſwearing is this; they ſet a ſheep in the midſt of them, and rub it over with butter; the heads of families, who are the chief in the nation, lay their hands upon the head of the ſheep, and ſwear to obſerve their promiſe. This oath (which they never violate) they explain thus; the ſheep is the mother of them who ſwear, the butter betokens the love between the mother and the children, and an oath taken on a mother's head is ſacred. Upon the ſecurity of this oath, I made them acquainted with my intention; an intention, they told me, it was impoſſible to put in execution. From the moment I left them, they ſaid, they could give me no aſſurance of either life or liberty; that they were perfectly informed both of the roads and inhabitants; that there were no fewer than nine nations between us and Abyſſinia, who were always embroiled amongſt themſelves, or at war with the Abyſſins, and enjoyed no ſecurity even in their own territories. We were now convinced that our enterprize was impracticable; and that

to

to hazard ourſelves amidſt ſo many inſurmountable difficulties would be to tempt Providence. Deſpairing therefore, that I ſhould ever come this way to Abyſſinia, I reſolved to return back with my intelligence to my companion, whom I had left at Paté.

I cannot, however, leave this country, without giving an account of their manner of blood-letting, which I was led to the knowledge of by a violent fever, which threatened to put an end to my life and travels together. The diſtreſs I was in may eaſily be imagined, being entirely deſtitute of every thing neceſſary. I had reſolved to let myſelf blood, though I was altogether a ſtranger to the manner of doing it, and had no lancet. But my companions hearing of a ſurgeon of reputation in the place, went and brought him. I ſaw with the utmoſt ſurpriſe an old Moor enter my chamber, with a kind of ſmall dagger all over ruſty, and a mallet in his hand, and three cups of horn about half a foot long. I ſtarted, and aſked what he wanted? He told me to bleed me; and when I had given him leave, uncovering my ſide, applied one of his horn-cups which he ſtoped with chewed paper, and by that means made it ſtick faſt; in the ſame manner he fixed on the other two, and fell to ſharpening his inſtrument, aſſuring me that he would give me no pain. He then took off his cups, and gave in each place a ſtroke with his poignard, which was followed by a ſtream of blood. He applied his cups ſeveral times, and every time ſtruck his lancet into the ſame place; having drawn away a large quantity of blood, he healed the orifices with three lumps of tallow. I know not whether to attribute my cure to bleeding, or my fear, but I had from that time no return of my fever.

When I came to Paté in hopes of meeting with my aſſociate, I found that he was gone to Mombaza in hopes of

of receiving information; he was ſooner undeceived than I, and we met at the place where we parted, in a few days, and ſoon afterwards left Paté to return to the Indies; and in nine and twenty days arrived at the famous fortreſs of Diou *. We were told at this place, that Alfonſo Mendes, patriarch of Ethiopia, was arrived at Goa from Liſbon. He wrote to us, to deſire that we would wait for him at Diou, in order to embark there for the Red ſea; but being informed by us that no opportunities of going thither were to be expected at Diou, it was at length determined that we ſhould meet at Bazaim; it was no eaſy matter for me to find means of going to Bazaim. However, after a very uneaſy voyage, in which we were often in danger of being daſhed againſt the rocks, or thrown upon the ſands, by the rapidity of the current, and ſuffered the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of water, I landed at Daman †, a place about twenty leagues diſtant from Bazaim. Here I hired a Cátre and four boys to carry me to Bazaim; theſe Cátres are a kind of travelling couches, in which you may either lie or ſit, which the boys, whoſe buſineſs is the ſame with that of chairmen in our country, ſupport upon their ſhoulders by two poles, and carry a paſſenger at the rate of eighteen or twenty miles a-day. Here we at length found the patriarch with three more prieſts, like us, deſigned for the Miſſion of Ethiopia. We went back to Daman, and from thence to Diou, where we arrived in a ſhort time.

* Diou, an iſland and town at the mouth of the river Indus.

† Daman, a port upon the coaſt of the gulf of Cambaya.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Author embarks with the patriarch, narrowly eſcapes ſhipwreck near the iſle of Socotora. Enters the Arabian Gulf, and the Red ſea. Some Account of the coaſt of the Red ſea.

THE patriarch having met with many obſtacles and diſappointments in his return to Abyſſinia, grew impatient of being ſo long abſent from his church. Lopo Gomez d'Abreu, had made him an offer at Bazaim of fitting out three ſhips at his own expence, provided a commiſſion could be procured him to cruiſe in the Red ſea. This propoſal was accepted by the patriarch, and a commiſſion granted by the viceroy. While we were at Diou waiting for theſe veſſels, we received advice from Ethiopia, that the emperor, unwilling to expoſe the patriarch to any hazards, thought Dagher, a port in the mouth of the Red ſea, belonging to a prince dependant on the Abyſſins, a place of the greateſt ſecurity to land at, having already written to that prince to give him ſafe paſſage through his dominions. We met here with new delays; the fleet that was to tranſport us did not appear, the patriarch loſt all patience, and his zeal ſo much affected the commander at Diou, that he undertook to equip a veſſel for us, and puſhed the work forward with the utmoſt diligence. At length the long expected ſhips entered the port, we were overjoyed, we were tranſported, and prepared to go on board. Many perſons at Diou ſeeing the veſſels ſo well fitted out, deſired leave to go this voyage along with us, imagining they had an excellent opportunity of acquiring both wealth and honour. We committed, however, one great error

error in the ſetting out; for, having equipped our ſhips for privateering, and taken no merchandiſe on board, we could not touch at any of the ports of the Red ſea. The patriarch impatient to be gone, took leave in the moſt tender manner of the governor and his other friends, recommended our voyage to the bleſſed Virgin, and in the field, before we went on ſhipboard, made a ſhort exhortation, ſo moving and pathetic, that it touched the hearts of all who heard it. In the evening we went on board, and early the next morning, being the 3d of April 1625, we ſet ſail.

After ſome days, we diſcovered about noon the iſland Socotora *, where we propoſed to touch. The ſky was bright, and the wind fair, nor had we the leaſt apprehenſion of the danger into which we were falling, but with the utmoſt careleſſneſs and jollity held on our courſe. At night, when our ſailors, eſpecially the Moors, were in a profound ſleep, (for the Mahometans believing every thing forewritten in the decrees of God, and not alterable by any human means, reſign themſelves entirely to providence) our veſſel ran a-ground upon a ſand-bank at the entrance of the harbour. We got her off with the utmoſt difficulty, and nothing but a miracle could have preſerved us. We ran along afterwards by the ſide of the iſland, but were entertained with no other proſpect than of a mountainous country, and of rocks that jutted out over the ſea, and ſeemed ready to fall into it. In the afternoon, putting into the moſt convenient ports of the iſland, we came to anchor; very much to the amazement and terror of the inhabitants, who were not uſed to ſee any Portugueſe ſhips upon their coaſts, and were therefore under a great conſternation at finding them even in their ports. Some ran for ſecurity to the mountains, others

* Socotora, an iſland near the mouth of the ſtreights of Babelmandel.

others took up arms to oppoſe our landing, but were ſoon reconciled to us, and brought us fowls, fiſh, and ſheep, in exchange for India callicoes, on which they ſet a great value. We left this iſland early the next morning, and ſoon came in ſight of Cape Gardafui, ſo celebrated heretofore under the name of the Cape of Spices; either becauſe great quantities were then found there, or from its neighbourhood to Arabia the Happy, even at this day famous for its fragrant products. It is properly at this Cape (the moſt eaſtern part of Africa) that the gulf of Arabia begins, which at Babelmandel loſes its name, and is called the Red ſea. Here, though the weather was calm, we found the ſea ſo rough, that we were toſſed, as in a high wind, for two nights. Whether this violent agitation of the water proceeded from the narrowneſs of the ſtreight, or from the fury of the late ſtorm, I know not. Whatever was the cauſe, we ſuffered all the hardſhips of a tempeſt. We continued our courſe towards the Red ſea, meeting with nothing in our paſſage but a Gelve, or kind of boat made of thin boards ſewed together, with no other ſail than a mat. We gave her chaſe, in hopes of being informed by the crew, whether there were any Arabian veſſels at the mouth of the ſtreight. But the Moors, who all entertain diſmal apprehenſions of the Franks, plyed their oars and ſail with the utmoſt diligence, and as ſoon as they reached land, quitted their boat, and ſcoured to the mountains. We ſaw them make ſignals from thence, and imagining they would come to a parley, ſent out our boat, with two ſailors and an Abyſſin, putting the ſhips off from the ſhore, to ſet them free from any ſuſpicion of danger in coming down. All this was to no purpoſe, they could not be drawn from the mountain, and our men had orders not to go on ſhore, ſo they were obliged

to

to return without information. Soon after we diſcovered the iſle of Babelmandel, which gives name to the ſtreight ſo called, and parts the ſea that ſurrounds it into two channels: that on the ſide of Arabia is not above a quarter of a league in breadth; and through this paſs almoſt all the veſſels that trade to or from the Red ſea. The other on the ſide of Ethiopia, though much larger, is more dangerous, by reaſon of the ſhallows, which make it neceſſary for a ſhip, though of no great burthen, to paſs very near the iſland where the channel is deeper and leſs embarraſſed. This paſſage is never made uſe of but by thoſe who would avoid meeting with the Turks, who are ſtationed on the coaſt of Arabia; it was for this reaſon we choſe it. We paſſed it in the night, and entered that ſea ſo renowned on many accounts in hiſtory both ſacred and profane.

In our deſcription of this famous ſea, an account of which may juſtly be expected in this place, it is moſt convenient to begin with the coaſt of Arabia, on which part, at twelve leagues from the mouth, ſtands the city of Moca, a place of conſiderable trade. Forty leagues farther is the iſle of Camaram, whoſe inhabitants are annoyed with little ſerpents, which they call Baſiliſks; which, though very poiſonous and deadly, do not, as the ancients have told us, kill with their eyes; or, if they have ſo fatal a power, it is not at leaſt in this place. Sailing ninety leagues farther, you ſee the noted port of Jodda, where the pilgrims that go to Mecca and Medina unlade thoſe rich preſents which the zeal of different princes is every day accumulating at the tomb of Mahomet. The commerce of this place, and the number of merchants that reſort thither from all parts of the world are above deſcription; and ſo richly laden are the ſhips that come hither, that when the Indians would expreſs

a thing of ineſtimable price, they ſay, *It is of greater value than a ſhip of Jodda.* An hundred and eighteen leagues from thence lies Toro, and near it the ruins of an ancient monaſtery. This is the place, if the report of the inhabitants deſerves any credit, where the Iſraelites miraculouſly paſſed through the Red ſea on dry land; and there is ſome reaſon for imagining the tradition not ill grounded. For the ſea is here only three leagues in breadth, all the ground about Toro is barren for want of water, which is only to be found, at a conſiderable diſtance, in one fountain, which flows out of the neighbouring mountains, at the foot of which there are ſtill twelve palm-trees. Near Toro are ſeveral wells, which, as the Arabs tell us, were dug, by the order of Moſes, to quiet the clamours of the thirſty Iſraelites. Suez lies in the bottom of the gulf, three leagues from Toro, once a place of note, now reduced under the Turks to an inconſiderable village, where the miſerable inhabitants are forced to fetch water at three leagues diſtance. The ancient kings of Egypt conveyed the waters of the Nile to this place by an artificial canal, now ſo choaked with ſand, that there are ſcarce any marks remaining of ſo noble and beneficial a work.

The firſt place to be met with in travelling along the coaſt of Africa is Rondelo, ſituate over againſt Toro, and celebrated for the ſame miraculous paſſage. Forty-five leagues from thence is Cocir. Here ends that long chain of mountains that reaches from this place even to the entrance of the Red ſea. In this prodigious ridge, which extends three hundred leagues, ſometimes approaching near the ſea, and ſometimes running far up into the land, there is only one opening, through which all that merchandiſe is conveyed which is embarked at Riſa, and from thence diſtributed through all the eaſt.

Theſe

Theſe mountains, as they are uncultivated, are in ſome parts ſhaded with large foreſts, and in others dry and bare. As they are exceedingly high, all the ſeaſons may be here found together; when the ſtorms of winter beat on one ſide, on the other is often a ſerene ſky and a bright ſun-ſhine. The Nile runs here ſo near the ſhore, that it might without much difficulty be turned through this opening of the mountains into the Red ſea, a deſign which many of the emperors have thought of putting in execution, and thereby making a communication between the Red ſea and the Mediterranean, but have been diſcouraged either by the greatneſs of the expence, or the fear of laying great part of Egypt under water, for ſome of that country lies lower than the ſea.

Diſtant from Rondelo an hundred and thirty leagues is the iſle of Suaquem, where the Baſſa of that country chooſes his reſidence for the convenience of receiving the tribute with greater exactneſs, there being a large trade carried on here with the Abyſſins. The Turks of Suaquem have gardens on the firm land, not above a muſket-ſhot from the iſland, which ſupply them with many excellent herbs and fruits, of which I doubt whether there be not a greater quantity on this little ſpot, than on the whole coaſt of Africa beſides, from Melinda to Suez. For if we except the dates which grow between Suez and Suaquem, the ground does not yield the leaſt product; all the neceſſaries of life, even water, is wanting. Nothing can ſupport itſelf in this region of barrenneſs but Oſtriches, which devour ſtones, or any thing they meet with: they lay a great number of eggs, part of which they break to feed their young with. Theſe fowls, of which I have ſeen many, are very tame; and when they are purſued, ſtretch out their wings, and run with amazing ſwiftneſs. As they have cloven-feet,

they ſometimes ſtrike up the ſtones when they run, which gave occaſion to the notion that they throw ſtones at the hunters; a relation equally to be credited with thoſe of their eating fire and digeſting iron. Thoſe feathers, which are ſo much valued, grow under their wings. The ſhell of their eggs powdered is an excellent remedy for ſore eyes.

The burning wind ſpoken of in the ſacred writings, I take to be that which the natives term Arur, and the Arabs Uri; which, blowing in the Spring, brings with it ſo exceſſive an heat, that the whole country ſeems a burning oven; ſo that there is no travelling here in this dreadful ſeaſon; nor is this the only danger to which the unhappy paſſenger is expoſed in theſe uncomfortable regions. There blows in the months June, July, and Auguſt, another wind, which raiſes mountains of ſand, and carries them through the air: all that can be done in this caſe is, when a cloud of ſand riſes, to mark where it is likely to fall, and to retire as far off as poſſible; but it is very uſual for men to be taken unexpectedly, and ſmothered in the duſt. One day I found the body of a Chriſtian, whom I knew, upon the ſand; he had doubtleſs been choaked by theſe winds. I recommended his ſoul to the divine mercy, and buried him. He ſeemed to have been ſome time dead, yet the body had no ill ſmell. Theſe winds are moſt deſtructive in Arabia the deſart.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Author's conjecture on the name of the Red ſea. An account of the Coco tree. He lands at Baylur.

TO return to the deſcription of the coaſt. Sixty leagues from Suaquem is an iſland called Mazua, only conſiderable for its ports, which make the Turks reſide upon it, though they are forced to keep three barks continually employed in fetching water, which is not to be found nearer than at the diſtance of twelve miles. Forty leagues from hence is Dalacha, an iſland where many pearls are found, but of ſmall value. The next place is Baylur, forty leagues from Dalacha, and twelve from Babelmandel.

There are few things upon which a greater variety of conjectures has been offered, than upon the reaſons that induced the ancients to diſtinguiſh this gulf, which ſeparates Aſia from Afric, by the name of the Red ſea, an appellation that has almoſt univerſally obtained in all languages. Some affirm, that the torrents, which fall after great rains from the mountains, waſh down ſuch a quantity of red ſand as gives a tincture to the water; others tell us, that the ſun beams, being reverberated from the red rocks, give the ſea on which they ſtrike the appearance of that colour. Neither of theſe accounts are ſatisfactory; the coaſts are ſo ſcorched by the heat, that they are rather black than red: nor is the colour of this ſea much altered by the winds or rains. The notion generally received is, that the coral found in ſuch quantities at the bottom of the ſea might communicate this colour to the water; an account merely chimerical. Coral is

not to be found in all parts of this gulf, and red coral in very few. Nor does this water in fact differ from that of other ſeas. The patriarch and I have frequently amuſed ourſelves with making obſervations, and could never diſcover any redneſs but in the ſhallows, where a kind of weed grew which they call Goueſmon, which redneſs diſappeared aſſoon as we plucked up the plant. It is obſervable that St Jerome, confining himſelf to the Hebrew, calls this ſea JAMSUF; Jam in that language ſignifies ſea, and Suf is the name of a plant in Ethiopia, from which the Abyſſins extract a beautiful crimſon. Whether this be the ſame with the Goueſmon I know not, but am of opinion, that the herb gives to this ſea both the colour and the name.

The veſſels moſt uſed in the Red ſea, though ſhips of all ſizes may be met with there, are gelves, of which ſome mention hath been made already; theſe are the more convenient, becauſe they will not ſplit if thrown upon banks, or againſt rocks. Theſe gelves have given occaſion to the report, that out of the coco tree alone a ſhip may be built, fitted out with maſt, ſails, and cordage; and victualled with bread, water, wine, ſugar, vinegar, and oil. All this indeed cannot be done out of one tree, but may out of ſeveral of the ſame kind. They ſaw the trunk into planks, and ſew them together with thread which they ſpin out of the bark, and which they twiſt for the cables; the leaves ſtitched together make the ſails. This boat, thus equipped, may be furniſhed with all neceſſaries from the ſame tree. There is not a month in which the coco does not produce a bunch of nuts, from twenty to fifty. At firſt ſprouts out a kind of ſeed or capſula, of a ſhape not unlike the ſcabbard of a ſcymetar, which they cut, and place a veſſel under, to receive the liquor that drops from it: this drink is called Soro;

Soro; and is clear, pleaſant, and nouriſhing. If it be boiled, it grows hard, and makes a kind of ſugar much valued in the Indies. Diſtil this liquor, and you have a ſtrong water, of which is made excellent vinegar. All theſe different products are afforded before the nut is formed, and while it is green it contains a delicious cooling water; with theſe nuts they ſtore their gelves, and it is the only proviſion of water which is made in this country. The ſecond bark which contains the water, is ſo tender that they eat it. When this fruit arrives to perfect maturity, they either pound the kernel into meal, and make cakes of it, or draw an oil from it of a fine ſcent and taſte, and of great uſe in medicine; ſo that what is reported of the different products of this wonderful tree, is neither falſe nor incredible.

It is time we ſhould come now to the relation of our voyage. Having happily paſt the ſtreights at the entrance of the Red ſea, we purſued our courſe, keeping as near the ſhore as we could, without any farther apprehenſions of the Turks. We were, however, under ſome concern that we were entirely ignorant in what part of the coaſt to find Baylur, a port where we propoſed landing; and ſo little known, that our pilots, who had made many voyages in this ſea, could give us no account of it. We were in hopes of information from the fiſhermen; but found, that aſſoon as we came near they fled from us in the greateſt conſternation. No ſignals of peace or friendſhip could prevail on them to ſtay; they either durſt not truſt, or did not underſtand us. We plyed along the coaſt in this uncertainty two days, till, on the firſt of March, having doubled a point of land which came out a great way into the ſea, we found ourſelves in the middle of a fair large bay, which many reaſons induced us to think was Baylur. That we might be farther aſſured,

we ſent our Abyſſin on ſhore, who, returning next morning, confirmed our opinion. It would not be eaſy to determine whether our arrival gave us greater joy, or the inhabitants greater apprehenſions; for we could diſcern a continual tumult in the land, and took notice that the crews of ſome barks that lay in the harbour were unlading with all poſſible diligence, to prevent the cargo from falling into our hands; very much indeed to the diſſatisfaction of many of our ſoldiers, who, having engaged in this expedition with no other view than of filling their pockets, were, before the return of our Abyſſin, for treating them like enemies, and taking them as a lawful prize. We were willing to be aſſured of a good reception in this port; the patriarch therefore ſent me to treat with them. I dreſſed myſelf like a merchant, and in that habit received the four captains of gelves which the Chec ſent to compliment me, and ordered to ſtay as hoſtages, whom I ſent back, that I might gain upon their affections by the confidence I placed in their ſincerity. This had ſo good an effect, that the Chec, who was tranſported with the account the officers gave of the civilities they had been treated with, came in an hour to viſit me, bringing with him a Portugueſe, whom I had ſent a-ſhore as a ſecurity for his return. He informed me, that the king his maſter was encamped not far off, and that a Chec, who was then in the company, was juſt arrived from thence, and had ſeen the emperor of Ethiopia's letters in our favour. I was then convinced that we might land without ſcruple; and to give the patriarch notice of it, ordered a volley of our muſkets to be fired, which was anſwered by the cannon of the two ſhips that lay at a diſtance, for fear of giving the Moors any cauſe of ſuſpicion by their approach. The Chec and his attendants, though I had given them notice that we were going

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ing to let off our guns in honour of the king their maſter, could not forbear trembling at the fire and noiſe. They left us ſoon after, and next morning we landed our baggage, conſiſting chiefly of the patriarch's library, ſome ornaments for the church, ſome images, and ſome pieces of calicoe, which were of the ſame uſe as money. Moſt of the ſoldiers and ſailors were deſirous of going with us, ſome from real principles of piety, and a deſire of ſharing the labours and merits of the miſſion, others upon motives very different, the hopes of raiſing a fortune. To have taken all who offered themſelves would have been an injury to the owners of the ſhips, by rendering them unable to continue their voyage, we therefore accepted only of a few.

CHAP. V.

An account of Dancali. The conduct of Chec Furt. The Author wounded. They arrive at the court of the king of Dancali. A deſcription of his pavilion, and the reception they met with.

OUR goods were no ſooner landed, than we were ſurrounded with a crowd of officers, all gaping for preſents; we were forced to gratify their avarice by opening our bales, and diſtributing among them ſome pieces of calicoe. What we gave to the Chec might be worth about a piſtole, and the reſt in proportion.

The kingdom of Dancali, to which this belongs, is barren, and thinly peopled; the king is tributary to the emperor of Abyſſinia, and very faithful to his ſovereign.

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The emperor had not only written to him, but had ſent a Moor and a Portugueſe as his ambaſſadors, to ſecure us a kind reception; theſe in their way to this prince had come through the countries of Chumo-Salamay and Senaa, the utmoſt confines of Abyſſinia, and had carried thither the emperor's orders concerning our paſſage.

On Aſcenſion-day we left Baylur, having procured ſome camels and aſſes to carry our baggage. The firſt day's march was not above a league, and the others not much longer. Our guides performed their office very ill, being influenced, as we imagined, by the Chec Furt, an officer, whom, though unwillingly, we were forced to take with us. This man, who might have brought us to the king in three days, led us out of the way, thro' horrid deſarts deſtitute of water; or where what we found was ſo foul, nauſeous, and offenſive, that it excited a loathing and averſion, which nothing but extreme neceſſity could have overcome.

Having travelled ſome days, we were met by the king's brother, to whom, by the advice of Chec Furt, whoſe intent in following us was to ſqueeze all he could from us, we preſented ſome pieces of Chineſe workmanſhip, ſuch as caſes of boxes, a ſtandiſh, and ſome earthen ware, together with ſeveral pieces of painted calicoe, which were ſo much more agreeable, that he deſired ſome other pieces inſtead of our Chineſe curioſities. We willingly made the exchange: yet ſome time afterwards he aſked again for thoſe Chineſe goods which he had returned us; nor was it in our power to refuſe them. I was here in danger of loſing my life by a compliment which the Portugueſe paid the prince, of a diſcharge of twelve muſkets; one being unſkilfully charged too high, flew out of the ſoldier's hand, and falling againſt my leg wounded it very much. We had no ſurgeon with us, ſo that

that all I could do was to bind it hard with ſome cloth. I was obliged by this accident to make uſe of the Chec Furt's horſe, which was the greateſt ſervice we received from him in all our journey.

When we came within two leagues and an half of the king's court, he ſent ſome meſſengers with his compliments, and five mules for the chief of our company. Our road lay through a wood, where we found the ground covered over with young locuſts, a plague intolerably afflictive in a country ſo barren of itſelf. We arrived at length at the bank of a ſmall river, near which the king uſually keeps his reſidence, and found his palace at the foot of a little mountain. It conſiſted of about ſix tents and twenty cabins, erected amongſt ſome thorns and wild trees, which afforded a ſhelter from the heat of the weather. He received us the firſt time in a cabin, about a muſket-ſhot diſtant from the reſt, furniſhed out with a throne in the middle, built of clay and ſtones, and covered with tapeſtry and two velvet cuſhions. Over againſt him ſtood his horſe, with his ſaddle and other furniture hanging by him; for in this country the maſter and his horſe make uſe of the ſame apartment; nor doth the king, in this reſpect, affect more grandeur than his ſubjects. When we entered, we ſeated ourſelves on the ground with our legs croſſed, in imitation of the reſt, whom we found in the ſame poſture. After we had waited ſome time, the king came in, attended by his domeſtics and his officers. He held a ſmall lance in his hand, and was dreſſed in a ſilk robe, with a turban on his head, to which were faſtened ſome rings of very neat workmanſhip, which fell down upon his forehead. All kept ſilence for ſome time, and the king told us by his interpreter, that we were welcome to his dominions; that he had been informed we were to come,

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by the emperor his father; and that he condoled the hardſhips we had undergone at ſea. He deſired us not to be under any concern at finding ourſelves in a country ſo diſtant from our own, for thoſe dominions were ours; and he and the emperor his father would give us all the proofs we could deſire of the ſincereſt affection. We returned him thanks for this promiſe of his favour, and after a ſhort converſation went away. Immediately we were teaſed by thoſe who brought us the mules, and demanded to be paid the hire of them; and had advice given us at the ſame time, that we ſhould get a preſent ready for the king. The Chec Furt, who was extremely ready to undertake any commiſſion of this kind, would needs direct us in the affair; and told us, that our gifts ought to be of greater value, becauſe we had neglected making any ſuch offer at our firſt audience, contrary to the cuſtom of that country. By theſe pretences he obliged us to make a preſent to the value of about twenty pounds, with which he ſeemed to be pleaſed; and told us we had nothing to do, but prepare to make our entry.

CHAP. VI.

The king refuſes their preſent. The Author's boldneſs. The preſent is afterwards accepted. The people are forbidden to ſell them proviſions. The Author remonſtrates againſt the uſage. The king redreſſes it.

BUT ſuch was either the hatred or avarice of this man, that inſtead of doing us the good offices he pretended, he adviſed the king to refuſe our preſent, that

that he might draw from us ſomething more valuable. When I attended the king in order to deliver the preſents, after I had excuſed the ſmallneſs of them, as being, though unworthy his acceptance, the largeſt that our profeſſion of poverty, and diſtance from our country allowed us to make, he examined them one by one, with a diſſatisfied look; and told me, that however he might be pleaſed with our good intentions, he thought our preſent ſuch as could not be offered to a king without affronting him; and made me a ſign with his hand to withdraw, and take back what I had brought. I obeyed, telling him, that perhaps he might ſend for it again, without having ſo much. The Chec Furt, who had been the occaſion of all this, coming to us afterwards, blamed us exceedingly for having offered ſo little: and being told by us that the preſent was picked out by himſelf, that we had nothing better to give, and that what we had left would ſcarce defray the expences of our journey, he preſſed us at leaſt to add ſomething; but could prevail no farther than to perſuade us to repeat our former offer, which the king was now pleaſed to accept, though with no kinder countenance than before.

Here we ſpent our time and our proviſions without being able to procure any more. The country, indeed, affords goats and honey, but nobody would ſell us any; the king, as I was ſecretly informed, having ſtrictly prohibited it, with a view of forcing all we had from us. The patriarch ſent me to expoſtulate the matter with the king, which I did in very warm terms; telling him, that we were aſſured by the emperor of a reception in this country far different from what we met with, which aſſurances he had confirmed by his promiſe, and the civilities we were entertained with at our firſt arrival; but

that

that inſtead of friends, who would compaſſionate our miſeries and ſupply our neceſſities, we found ourſelves in the midſt of mortal enemies, that wanted to deſtroy us.

The king, who affected to appear ignorant of the whole affair, demanded an account of the injuries I complained of; and told me, that if any of his ſubjects ſhould dare to attempt our lives, it ſhould coſt him his own. We are not, replied I, in danger of being ſtabbed or poiſoned, but are doomed to a more lingering and painful death by that prohibition which obliges your ſubjects to deny us the neceſſaries of life: if it be your Highneſs's pleaſure that we die here, we entreat that we may at leaſt be diſpatched quickly, and not condemned to longer torments. The king, ſtartled at this diſcourſe, denied that he had given any ſuch orders, and was very importunate to know the author of our intelligence; but finding me determined not to diſcover him, he ſent me away with a promiſe, that for the future we ſhould be furniſhed with every thing we wanted; and indeed that ſame day we bought three goats for about a crown, and ſome honey, and found ourſelves better treated than before.

CHAP. VII.

They obtain leave, with ſome difficulty, to depart from Dancali. The difficulties of their march. A broil with the Moors. They arrive at the Plain of Salt.

THIS uſage, with ſome differences we had with a Moor, made us very deſirous of leaving this country, but we were ſtill put off with one pretence or other, whenever

whenever we aſked leave to depart. Tired with theſe delays, I applied myſelf to his favourite miniſter, with a promiſe of a large preſent if he could obtain us an audience of leave. He came to us at night to agree upon the reward, and ſoon accompliſhed all we deſired; both getting us a permiſſion to go out of the kingdom, and procuring us camels to carry our baggage, and that of the Abyſſinian ambaſſadors who were ordered to accompany us.

We ſet out from the kingdom of Dancali on the fifteenth of June, having taken our leave of the king, who, after many excuſes for every thing that had happened, diſmiſſed us with a preſent of a cow and ſome proviſions; deſiring us to tell the emperor of Ethiopia his father, that we had met with kind treatment in his territories, a requeſt which we did not at that time think it convenient to deny.

Whatever we had ſuffered hitherto was nothing to the difficulties we were now entering upon, and which God had decreed us to undergo for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt. Our way now lay through a region ſcarce paſſable, and full of ſerpents, which were continually creeping between our legs; we might have avoided them in the day, but being obliged, that we might avoid the exceſſive heats, to take long marches in the night, we were every moment treading upon them: nothing but a ſignal interpoſition of Providence could have preſerved us from being bitten by them, or periſhing either by wearineſs or thirſt; for ſometimes we were a long time without water, and had nothing to ſupport our ſtrength in this fatigue but a little honey, and a ſmall piece of cow's fleſh dried in the ſun. Thus we travelled on for many days, ſcarce allowing ourſelves any reſt, till we came to a channel, or hollow worn in the mountains by the winter torrents. Here we found

found ſome coolneſs, and good water, a bleſſing we enjoyed for three days: down this channel all the winter runs a great river, which is dried up in the heats, or, to ſpeak more properly, hides itſelf under ground. We walked along its ſide ſometimes ſeven or eight leagues without ſeeing any water, and then we found it riſing out of the ground; at which places we never failed to drink as much as we could, and fill our bottles.

In our march, there fell out an unlucky accident, which, however, did not prove of the bad conſequences it might have done. The maſter of our camels was an old Mahometan, who had conceived an opinion that it was an act of merit to do us all the miſchief he could; and in purſuance of his notion, made it his chief employment to ſteal every thing he could lay hold on; his piety even tranſported him ſo far, that one morning he ſtole and hid the cords of our tents. The patriarch, who ſaw him at the work, charged him with it; and upon his denial, ſhewed him the end of the cord hanging from under the ſaddle of one of his camels. Upon this we went to ſeize them, but were oppoſed by him and the reſt of the drivers, who ſet themſelves in a poſture of oppoſition with their daggers: our ſoldiers had recourſe to their muſkets, and four of them putting the mouths of their pieces to the heads of ſome of the moſt obſtinate and turbulent, ſtruck them with ſuch a terror, that all the clamour was ſtilled in an inſtant. None received any hurt but the Moor who had been the occaſion of the tumult. He was knocked down by one of our ſoldiers, who had cut his throat, but that the fathers prevented it; he then reſtored the cords, and was more tractable ever after. In all my dealings with the Moors I have always diſcovered in them an ill-natured cowardice, which makes them inſupportably inſolent, if you ſhew them

them the leaſt reſpect, and eaſily reduced to reaſonable terms, when you treat them with a high hand.

After a march of ſome days, we came to an opening between the mountains, the only paſſage out of Dancali into Abyſſinia. Heaven ſeems to have made this place on purpoſe for the repoſe of weary travellers, who here exchange the tortures of parching thirſt, burning ſands, and a ſultry climate, for the pleaſures of ſhady trees, the refreſhment of a clear ſtream, and the luxury of a cooling breeze. We arrived at this happy place about noon, and the next day, at evening, left thoſe fanning winds, and woods flouriſhing with unfading verdure, for the diſmal barrenneſs of the vaſt uninhabitable plains from which Abyſſinia is ſupplied with ſalt. Theſe plains are ſurrounded with high mountains, continually covered with thick clouds which the ſun draws from the lakes that are here, from which the water runs down into the plain, and is there congealed into ſalt. Nothing can be more curious than to ſee the channels and aqueducts that nature has formed in this hard rock ſo exact, and of ſuch admirable contrivance, that they ſeem to be the work of men. To this place caravans of Abyſſinia are continually reſorting, to carry ſalt into all parts of the empire, which they ſet a great value upon; and which in their country is of the ſame uſe as money. The ſuperſtitious Abyſſins imagine, that the cavities of the mountains are inhabited by evil ſpirits, which appear in different ſhapes, calling thoſe that paſs by their names, as in a familiar acquaintance; who, if they go to them, are never ſeen afterwards. This relation was confirmed by the Mooriſh officer who came with us, who, as he ſaid, had loſt a ſervant in that manner: the man certainly fell into the hands of the Galles, who lurk in thoſe dark retreats, cut the throats of the merchants, and carry off their effects.

The heat, making it impoſſible to travel through this plain in the day time, we ſet out in the evening, and in the night loſt our way. It is very dangerous to go through this place, for there are no marks of the right road, but ſome heaps of ſalt, which we could not ſee. Our camel-drivers getting together to conſult on this occaſion, we ſuſpected they had ſome ill deſign in hand, and got ready our weapons; they perceived our apprehenſions, and ſet us at eaſe, by letting us know the reaſon of their conſultation. Travelling hard all night, we found ourſelves next morning paſt the plain; but the road we were in was not more commodious, the points of the rocks pierced our feet: to increaſe our perplexities, we were alarmed with the approach of an armed troop, which our fear immediately ſuggeſted to be the Galles, who chiefly beſet theſe paſſes of the mountains; we put ourſelves on the defenſive, and expected them; whom, upon a more exact examination, we found to be only a caravan of merchants, come as uſual to fetch ſalt.

CHAP. VIII.

They loſe their way; are in continual apprehenſions of the Galles. They come to Duan, and ſettle in Abyſſinia.

ABOUT nine the next morning, we came to the end of this toilſome and rugged path, where the way divided into two, yet both led to a well, the only one that was found in our journey. A Moor, with three others, took the ſhorteſt, without directing us to follow him; ſo we marched forwards we knew not whither, through

through woods and over rocks, without ſleep or any other refreſhment: At noon, the next day, we diſcovered that we were near the field of Salt. Our affliction and diſtreſs is not to be expreſſed. We were all fainting with heat and wearineſs; and two of the patriarch's ſervants were upon the point of dying for water. None of us had any but a Moor, who could not be prevailed upon to part with it at leſs than the weight in gold. We got ſome from him at laſt, and endeavoured to revive the two ſervants, while part of us went to look for a guide that might put us in the right way. The Moors who had arrived at the well, rightly gueſſing that we were loſt, ſent one of their company to look for us, whom we heard ſhouting in the woods, but durſt make no anſwer for fear of the Galles. At length he found us, and conducted us to the reſt; we inſtantly forgot our paſt calamities, and had no other care than to recover the patriarch's attendants. We did not give them a full draught at firſt, but poured in the water by drops, to moiſten their mouths and throats, which were extremely ſwelled; by this caution they were ſoon well. We then fell to eating and drinking, and though we had nothing but our ordinary repaſt of honey and dried fleſh, thought we never had regaled more pleaſantly in our lives.

We durſt not ſtay long in this place for fear of the Galles, who lay their ambuſhes more particularly near this well, by which all caravans muſt neceſſarily paſs. Our apprehenſions were very much increaſed by our ſuſpicion of the camel-drivers, who, as we imagined, had advertiſed the Galles of our arrival. The fatigue we had already ſuffered, did not prevent our continuing our march all night; at laſt we entered a plain, where our drivers told us, we might expect to be attacked by the

Galles; nor was it long before our own eyes convinced us that we were in great danger; for we ſaw, as we went along, the dead bodies of a caravan who had been lately maſſacred, a ſight which froze our blood, and filled us with pity and with horror. The ſame fate was not far from overtaking us; for a troop of Galles, who were detached in ſearch of us, miſſed us but an hour or two. We ſpent the next night in the mountains, but when we ſhould have ſet out in the morning, were obliged to a fierce diſpute with the old Moor, who had not yet loſt his inclination to deſtroy us. He would have had us taken a road which was full of thoſe people we were ſo much afraid of; but at length, finding he could not prevail with us, that we charged the goods upon him as belonging to the emperor, to whom he ſhould be anſwerable for the loſs of them, he conſented, in a ſullen way, to go with us.

The deſire of getting out of the reach of the Galles made us preſs forward with great expedition; and indeed, fear having entirely engroſſed our minds, we were perhaps leſs ſenſible of all our labours and difficulties; ſo violent an apprehenſion of one danger made us look on many others with unconcern; our pains at laſt found ſome intermiſſion at the foot of the mountains of Duan, the frontier of Abyſſinia, which ſeparates it from the country of the Moors, through which we had travelled.

Here we imagined we might repoſe ſecurely, a felicity we had long been ſtrangers to; here we began to rejoice at the concluſion of our labours; the place was cool, and pleaſant, the water excellent, and the birds melodious. Some of our company went into the wood to divert themſelves with hearing the birds, and frightening the monkies, creatures ſo cunning, that they would not ſtir if a man came unarmed, but would run immediately when they

they ſaw a gun. At this place our camel-drivers left us, to go to the feaſt of St Michael, which the Ethiopians celebrate the ſixteenth of June. We perſuaded them, however, to leave us their camels, and four of their company to take care of them.

We had not waited many days before ſome meſſengers came to us, with an account that Father Baradas, with the emperor's nephew, and many other perſons of diſtinction, waited for us at ſome diſtance. We loaded our camels, and following the courſe of the river, came in ſeven hours to the place we were directed to halt at. Father Manual Baradas, and all the company who had waited for us a conſiderable time on the top of the mountain, came down when they ſaw our tents, and congratulated our arrival. It is not eaſy to expreſs the benevolence and tenderneſs with which they embraced us, and the concern they ſhewed at ſeeing us worn away with hunger, labour and wearineſs, our cloaths tattered, and our feet bloody.

We left this place of interview the next day, and on the 21ſt of June arrived at Fremone, the reſidence of the miſſionaries, where we were welcomed by great numbers of Catholics, both Portugueſe and Abyſſins, who ſpared no endeavours to make us forget all we had ſuffered in ſo hazardous a journey, undertaken with no other intention, than to conduct them in the way of ſalvation.

A

DESCRIPTION

OF

ABYSSINIA.

CHAP. I.

The Hiſtory of Abyſſinia. An account of the queen of Sheba, and of queen Candace. The converſion of the Abyſſins.

THE original of the Abyſſins, like that of all other nations, is obſcure and uncertain. The tradition generally received derives them from Cham the ſon of Noah; and they pretend, however improbably, that from his time till now, the legal ſucceſſion of their kings hath never been interrupted; and that the ſupreme power hath always continued in the ſame family. An authentic genealogy, traced up ſo high, could not but be extremely curious: and with good reaſon might the emperors of Abyſſinia boaſt themſelves the moſt illuſtrious and ancient family in the world. But there are no real grounds for imagining that Providence has vouchſafed them ſo diſtinguiſhing a protection; and from the wars with which this empire hath been ſhaken in theſe later

later ages, we may juſtly believe, that, like all others, it has ſuffered its revolutions, and that the hiſtory of the Abyſſins is corrupted with fables. This empire is known by the name of the kingdom of Preſter-John. For the Portugueſe, having heard ſuch wonderful relations of an ancient and famous Chriſtian ſtate called by that name in the Indies, imagined it could be none but this of Ethiopia. Many things concurred to make them of this opinion: there was no Chriſtian kingdom or ſtate in the Indies, of which all was true which they heard of this land of Preſter-John: and there was none in the other parts of the world which was a Chriſtian ſeparated from the Catholic church, but what was known, except this kingdom of Ethiopia. It has therefore paſſed for the kingdom of Preſter-John, ſince the time that it was diſcovered by the Portugueſe in the reign of king John the ſecond.

The country is properly called Abyſſinia, and the people term themſelves Abyſſins. Their hiſtories count an hundred and ſixty-two reigns, from Cham to Faciladas, or Baſilides; among which ſome women are remarkably celebrated. One of the moſt renowned is the queen of Sheba, mentioned in ſcripture, whom the natives call Nicaula, or Macheda; and in their tranſlation of the goſpel, Nagiſta Azeb; which in their language is queen of the ſouth. They ſtill ſhew the ruins of a city, which appears to have been once of note, as the place where ſhe kept her court, and a village which, from its being the place of her birth, they call the land of Saba: The kings of Ethiopia draw their boaſted pedigree from Minilech the ſon of this queen, and Solomon. The other queen, for whom they retain a great veneration, is Candace, whom they call Judith; and indeed, if what they relate of her could be proved, there never was, a-

mongſt the moſt illuſtrious and beneficent ſovereigns, any to whom their country was more indebted; for it is ſaid, that ſhe, being converted by Inda her eunuch, whom St Philip baptized, prevailed with her ſubjects to quit the worſhip of idols, and profeſs the faith of Jeſus Chriſt. This opinion appears to me without any better foundation, than another of the converſion of the Abyſſins to the Jewiſh rites by the queen of Sheba, at her return from the court of Solomon. They, however, who patroniſe theſe traditions, give us very ſpecious accounts of the zeal and piety of the Abyſſins at their firſt converſion. Many, they ſay, abandoned all the pleaſures and vanities of life for ſolitude and religious auſterities; others devoted themſelves to God in an eccleſiaſtical life: they who could not do theſe ſet apart their revenues for building churches, and endowing chapels, and founding monaſteries; and ſpent their wealth in coſtly ornaments for the churches and veſſels for the altars. It is true that this people have a natural diſpoſition to goodneſs; they are very liberal of their alms; they much frequent their churches, and are very ſtudious to adorn them: they practiſe faſting and other mortifications; and, notwithſtanding their ſeparation from the Roman church, and the corruptions which have crept into their faith, yet retain, in a great meaſure, the devout fervour of the primitive Chriſtians. There never were greater hopes of uniting this people to the church of Rome, which their adherence to the Eutychian hereſy has made very difficult, than in the time of Sultan Segued, who called us into his dominions in the year 1625, from whence we were expelled in 1634. As I have lived a long time in this country, and borne a ſhare in all that has paſſed, I will preſent the reader with a ſhort account of what I have obſerved, and of the revolution which forced us to abandon Ethiopia, and deſtroyed all

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our hopes of reuniting this kingdom with the Roman church.

The empire of Abyſſinia hath been one of the largeſt which hiſtory gives us an account of: it extended formerly from the Red ſea to the kingdom of Congo, and from Egypt to the Indian ſea. It is not long ſince it contained forty provinces, but is now not much bigger than all Spain, and conſiſts but of five kingdoms and ſix provinces; of which, part is entirely ſubject to the emperor, and part only pays him ſome tribute or acknowledgment of dependance, either voluntarily or by compulſion. Some of theſe are of very large extent. The kingdoms of Tigre, Bagameder, and Goiama, are as big as Portugal, or bigger: Amhara and Damote are ſomething leſs. The provinces are inhabited by Moors, Pagans, Jews, and Chriſtians, the laſt is the reigning and eſtabliſhed religion. This diverſity of people and religion is the reaſon that the kingdom in different parts is under different forms of government, and that their laws and cuſtoms are extremely various.

The inhabitants of the kingdom of Amhara are the moſt civilized and polite; and next to them the natives of Tigre, or the true Abyſſins. The reſt, except the Damotes, the Gaſates, and the Agaus, which approach ſomewhat nearer to civility, are entirely rude and barbarous. Among theſe nations the Galles, who firſt alarmed the world in 1542, have remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves, by the ravages they have committed, and the terrour they have raiſed in this part of Africa. They neither ſow their lands, nor improve them by any kind of culture; but, living upon milk and fleſh, encamp, like the Arabs, without any ſettled habitation. They practiſe no rites of worſhip, though they believe, that in the regions above, there dwells a Being that governs the world:

world: Whether by this Being they mean the ſun or the ſky is not known; or indeed, whether they have not ſome conception of the God that created them. This Deity they call in their language Oul. In other matters they are yet more ignorant, and have ſome cuſtoms ſo contrary even to the laws of nature, as might almoſt afford reaſon to doubt whether they are endued with reaſon. The Chriſtianity profeſſed by the Abyſſins is ſo corrupted with ſuperſtitions, errors, and hereſies, and ſo mingled with ceremonies borrowed from the Jews, that little beſides the name of Chriſtianity is to be found here; and the thorns may be ſaid to have choaked the grain. This proceeds in a great meaſure from the diverſity of religions which are tolerated there, either by negligence or from motives of policy; and the ſame cauſe hath produced ſuch various revolutions, revolts, and civil wars, within theſe later ages. For thoſe different ſects do not eaſily admit of an union with each other, or a quiet ſubjection to the ſame monarch. The Abyſſins cannot properly be ſaid to have either cities or houſes; they live either in tents, or in cottages made of ſtraw and clay; for they very rarely build with ſtone. Their villages, or towns, conſiſt of theſe huts; yet even of ſuch villages they have but few, becauſe the grandees, the viceroys, and the emperor himſelf are always in the camp, that they may be prepared, upon the moſt ſudden ſummons, to go where the exigence of affairs demands their preſence. And this precaution is no more than neceſſary for a prince every year engaged either in foreign wars, or inteſtine commotions. Theſe towns have each a governor, whom they call Gadare, over whom is the educ, or lieutenant, and both are accountable to an officer called the Afamacon, or mouth of the king; becauſe he receives the revenues, which he pays into the hands of

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the Relatina-Fala, or grand-maſter of the houſehold; ſometimes the emperor creates a ratz, or viceroy, general over all the empire, who is ſuperior to all his other officers.

Ethiopia produces very near the ſame kinds of proviſions as Portugal; though, by the extreme lazineſs of the inhabitants, in a much leſs quantity. However, there are ſome roots, herbs, and fruits, which grow there much better than in other places. What the ancients imagined of the torrid zone being uninhabitable, is ſo far from being true, that this climate is very temperate: the heats, indeed, are exceſſive in Congo and Monomotapa, but in Abyſſinia they enjoy a perpetual Spring, more delicious and charming than that in our country. The Blacks here are not ugly like thoſe of the kingdoms I have ſpoken of, but have better features, and are not without wit and delicacy; their apprehenſion is quick, and their judgment ſound. The heat of the ſun, however it may contribute to their colour, is not the only reaſon of it; there is ſome peculiarity in the temper and conſtitution of their bodies, ſince the ſame men, tranſported into cooler climates, produce children very near as black as themſelves.

They have here two harveſts in the year, which is a ſufficient recompence for the ſmall produce of each *, one harveſt they have in the Winter, which laſts through the months of July, Auguſt, and September; the other in the Spring: their trees are always green, and it is the fault of the inhabitants that they produce ſo little fruit, the ſoil being well adapted to all ſorts, eſpecially thoſe that come from the Indies. They have in the greateſt

* Une recolte ſe fait dans l'hiver, qui dure pendant les Mois de Juillet, Aouſt, et Septembre, et l'autre dans le Printems.

eſt plenty raiſins, peaches, ſour pomegranates, and ſugar-canes, and ſome figs. Moſt of theſe are ripe about Lent, which the Abyſſins keep with great ſtrictneſs.

After the vegetable products of this country, it ſeems not improper to mention the animals which are found in it, of which here are as great numbers of as many different ſpecies as in any country in the world. It is infeſted with lions of many kinds, among which are many of that which is called the lion-royal. I cannot help giving the reader, on this occaſion, a relation of a fact which I was an eye-witneſs of. A lion having taken his haunt near the place where I lived, killed all the oxen and cows, and did a great deal of other miſchief, of which I heard new complaints every day. A ſervant of mine having taken a reſolution to free the country from this deſtroyer, went out one day with two lances; and after he had been ſome time in queſt of him, found him with his mouth all ſmeared with the blood of a cow he had juſt devoured: the man ruſhed upon him, and thruſt his lance into his throat with ſuch violence that it came out between his ſhoulders; the beaſt with one dreadful roar fell down into a pit, and lay ſtruggling till my ſervant diſpatched him. I meaſured the body of this lion, and found him twelve feet between the head and the tail.

CHAP. II.

The animals of Abyſſinia; the elephant, unicorn, their horſes and cows, with a particular account of the Moroc.

THERE are ſo great numbers of elephants in Abyſſinia, that, in one evening, we met three hundred of them in three troops: as they filled up the whole way,

way, we were in a great perplexity a long time what meaſures to take; at length, having implored the protection of that providence that ſuperintends the whole creation, we went forwards through the midſt of them, without any injury. Once we met four young elephants, and an old one that played with them, lifting them up with her trunk; they grew enraged on the ſudden, and ran upon us; we had no way of ſecuring ourſelves but by flight, which, however, would have been fruitleſs, had not our purſuers been ſtopped by a deep ditch. The elephants of Ethiopia are of ſo ſtupendous a ſize, that when I was mounted on a large mule, I could not reach with my hand within two ſpans of the top of their backs. In Abyſſinia is likewiſe found the rhinoceros, a mortal enemy to the elephant. In the province of Agaus has been ſeen the unicorn, that beaſt ſo much talked of, and ſo little known; the prodigious ſwiftneſs with which this creature runs from one wood into another has given me no opportunity of examining it particularly; yet I have had ſo near a ſight of it, as to be able to give ſome deſcription of it. The ſhape is the ſame with that of a beautiful horſe, exact and nicely proportioned, of a bay colour, with a black tail, which in ſome provinces is long, in others very ſhort; ſome have long manes hanging to the ground. They are ſo timorous, that they never feed but ſurrounded with other beaſts that defend them. Deer and other defenceleſs animals often herd about the elephant, which, contenting himſelf with roots and leaves, preſerves thoſe beaſts that place themſelves, as it were, under his protection, from the rage and fierceneſs of others that would devour them.

The horſes of Abyſſinia are excellent; their mules, oxen and cows, are without number; and in theſe principally conſiſts the wealth of this country. They have a very

very particular cuſtom, which obliges every man that hath a thouſand cows to ſave every year one day's milk of all his herd, and make a bath with it for his relations, entertaining them afterwards with a ſplendid feaſt. This they do ſo many days each year as they have thouſands of cattle; ſo that, to expreſs how rich any man is, they tell you he bathes ſo many times. The tribute paid out of their herds to the king, which is not the moſt inconſiderable of his revenues, is one cow in ten every three years. The beeves are of ſeveral kinds; one ſort they have without horns, which are of no other uſe than to carry burthens, and ſerve inſtead of mules. Another twice as big as ours, which they breed to kill, fatting them with the milk of three or four cows. Their horns are ſo large the inhabitants uſe them for pitchers, and each will hold about five gallons. One of theſe oxen, fat and ready to be killed, may be bought at moſt for two crowns. I have purchaſed five ſheep, or five goats, with nine kids, for a piece of calicoe worth about a crown.

The Abyſſins have many ſort of fowls both wild and tame, ſome of the former we are yet unacquainted with. There is one of wonderful beauty, which I have ſeen in no other place except Peru, it has, inſtead of a comb, a ſhort horn upon its head, which is thick and round, and open at the top. The Feitan Favez, or devil's-horſe, looks at a diſtance like a man dreſſed in feathers, it walks with abundance of majeſty, till it finds itſelf purſued, and then takes wing and flies away. But amongſt all their birds, there is none more remarkable than the Moroc, or honey-bird, which is furniſhed by nature with a peculiar inſtinct, or faculty of diſcovering honey. They have here multitudes of bees of various kinds, ſome are tame like ours, and form their combs in hives: Of the wild ones, ſome place their honey in hollow trees, others hide it in

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holes in the ground, which they cover ſo carefully, that, though they are commonly in the highway, they are ſeldom found, unleſs by the Moroc's help; which, when he has diſcovered any honey, repairs immediately to the road ſide, and when he ſees a traveller, ſings, and claps his wings; making many motions to invite him to follow him, and when he perceives him coming, flies before him from tree to tree, till he comes to the place where the bees have ſtored their treaſure, and then begins to ſing melodiouſly. The Abyſſin takes the honey, without failing to leave part of it for the bird, to reward him for his information. This kind of honey I have often taſted, and do not find that it differs from the other ſorts in any thing but colour; it is ſomewhat blacker. The great quantity of honey that is gathered, and a prodigious number of cows that is kept here, have often made me call Abyſſinia a land of honey and butter.

CHAP. III.

The manner of eating in Abyſſinia; their dreſs, their hoſpitality, and traffic.

THE great lords, and even the emperor himſelf, maintain their tables with no great expence. The veſſels they make uſe of are black earthen-ware, which, the older it is, they ſet a greater value on. Their way of dreſſing their meat, an European, till he hath been long accuſtomed to it, can hardly be perſuaded to like; every thing they eat ſmells ſtrong, and ſwims with butter. They make no uſe of either linen or plates. The perſons

perſons of rank never touch what they eat, but have their meat cut by their pages, and put into their mouths. When they feaſt a friend, they kill an ox, and ſet immediately a quarter of him raw upon the table, (for their moſt elegant treat is raw beef, newly killed, with pepper and ſalt; the gall of the ox ſerves them for oil and vinegar. Some, to heighten the delicacy of the entertainment, add a kind of ſauce, which they call Manta, made of what they take out of the guts of the ox. This they ſet on the fire, with butter, ſalt, pepper, and onion. Raw beef thus reliſhed is their niceſt diſh, and is eaten by them with the ſame appetite and pleaſure as we eat the beſt partridges. They have often done me the favour of helping me to ſome of this ſauce, and I had no way to decline eating it, beſides telling them it was too good for a miſſionary.

The common drink of the Abyſſins is beer and mead, which they drink to exceſs, when they viſit one another; nor can there be a greater offence againſt good manners, than to let the gueſts go away ſober. Their liquor is always preſented by a ſervant, who drinks firſt himſelf, and then gives the cup to the company, in the order of their quality.

The meaner ſort of people here dreſs themſelves very plain; they only wear drawers, and a thick garment of cotton, that covers the reſt of their bodies. The people of quality, eſpecially thoſe that frequent the court, run into the contrary extreme, and ruin themſelves with coſtly habits. They wear all ſorts of ſilks, and particularly the fine velvets of Turkey.

They love bright and glaring colours, and dreſs themſelves much in the Turkiſh manner, except that their cloaths are wider, and their drawers cover their legs. Their robes are always full of gold and ſilver embroi-

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dery. They are moſt exact about their hair, which is long and twiſted; and their care of it is ſuch, that they go bare-headed whilſt they are young, for fear of ſpoiling it; but afterwards wear red caps, and ſometimes turbants, after the Turkiſh faſhion.

The ladies dreſs is yet more magnificent and expenſive; their robes are as large as thoſe of the religious of the order of St Bernard. They have various ways of dreſſing their heads, and ſpare no expence in ear-rings, necklaces, or any thing that may contribute to ſet them off to advantage. They are not much reſerved or confined, and have ſo much liberty in viſiting one another, that their huſbands often ſuffer by it. But for this evil there is no remedy, eſpecially when a man marries a princeſs, or one of the royal family. Beſides their cloaths, the Abyſſins have no moveables or furniture of much value, nor doth their manner of living admit of them.

One cuſtom of this country deſerves to be remarked: When a ſtranger comes to a village, or to the camp, the people are obliged to entertain him and his company according to his rank. As ſoon as he enters an houſe, (for they have no inns in this nation), the maſter informs his neighbours that he hath a gueſt; immediately they bring in bread, and all kinds of proviſions; and there is great care taken to provide enough; becauſe, if the gueſt complains, the town is obliged to pay double the value of what they ought to have furniſhed. This practice is ſo well eſtabliſhed, that a ſtranger goes into a houſe of one he never ſaw, with the ſame familiarity and aſſurance of welcome, as into that of an intimate friend, or near relation; a cuſtom very convenient, but which gives encouragement to great numbers of vagabonds throughout the kingdom.

There is no money in Abyſſinia, except in the eaſtern provinces, where they have iron coin. But in the chief provinces all commerce is managed by exchange. Their chief trade conſiſts in proviſions, cows, ſheep, goats, fowls, pepper, and gold, which is weighed out to the purchaſer, and principally in ſalt, which is properly the money of this country.

When the Abyſſins are engaged in a law ſuit, the two parties make choice of a judge, and plead their own cauſe before him; and if they cannot agree in their choice, the governor of the place appoints them one, from whom there lies an appeal to the viceroy, and to the emperor himſelf. All cauſes are determined on the ſpot, no writings are produced. The judge ſits down on the ground, in the midſt of the high-road, where all that pleaſe may be preſent. The two perſons concerned ſtand before him, with their friends about them, who ſerve as their attornies. The plaintiff ſpeaks firſt, the defendant anſwers him; each is permitted to rejoin three or four times; then ſilence is commanded, and the judge takes the opinions of thoſe that are about him. If the evidence be deemed ſufficient, he pronounces ſentence, which, in ſome caſes, is deciſive, and without appeal. He then takes the criminal into cuſtody till he hath made ſatisfaction; but if it be a crime puniſhable with death, he is delivered over to the proſecutor, who may put him to death at his own diſcretion.

They have here a particular way of puniſhing adultery: A woman convicted of that crime is condemned to forfeit all her fortune, is turned out of her huſband's houſe in a mean dreſs, and is forbid ever to enter it again. She has only a needle given her to get her living with. Sometimes her head is ſhaved, except one lock of hair which is left her, and even that depends on the will

will of her husband, who has it likewise in his choice, whether he will receive her again or not. If he resolves never to admit her, they are both at liberty to marry whom they will. There is another custom amongst them yet more extraordinary, which is, that the wife is punished whenever the husband proves false to the marriage-contract; this punishment indeed extends no farther than a pecuniary mulct; and what seems more equitable, the husband is obliged to pay a sum of money to his wife. When the husband prosecutes his wife's gallant, if he can produce any proofs of a criminal conversation, he recovers, for damages, forty cows, forty horses, and forty suits of cloaths, and the same number of other things. If the gallant be unable to pay him, he is committed to prison, and continues there during the husband's pleasure; who, if he sets him at liberty before the whole fine be paid, obliges him to take an oath that he is going to procure the rest, that he may be able to make full satisfaction. Then the criminal orders meat and drink to be brought out, they eat and drink together; he asks a formal pardon, which is not granted at first; however the husband forgives first one part of the debt, and then another, till at length the whole is remitted.

A husband that doth not like his wife may easily find means to make the marriage void; and, what is worse, may dismiss the second wife with less difficulty than he took her, and return to the first: so that marriages in this country are only for a term of years, and last no longer than both parties are pleased with each other; which is one instance how far distant these people are from the purity of the primitive believers, which they pretend to have preserved with so great strictness. The marriages are, in short, no more than bargains, made with this proviso, that when any discontent shall arise on either

ſide, they may ſeparate, and marry whom they pleaſe, each taking back what they brought with them.

CHAP. IV.

An account of the religion of the Abyſſins.

YET, though there is a great difference between our manners, cuſtoms, civil government, and thoſe of the Abyſſins, there is yet a much greater in points of faith; for ſo many errors have been introduced, and ingrafted into their religion, by their ignorance, their ſeparation from the Catholic church, and their intercourſe with Jews, Pagans, and Mahometans, that their preſent religion is nothing but a kind of confuſed miſcellany of Jewiſh and Mahometan ſuperſtitions, with which they have corrupted thoſe remnants of Chriſtianity which they ſtill retain.

They have, however, preſerved the belief of our principal myſteries: they celebrate with a great deal of piety the paſſion of our Lord; they reverence the croſs; they pay a great devotion to the bleſſed Virgin, the angels, and the ſaints; they obſerve the feſtivals, and pay a ſtrict regard to the Sunday. Every month they commemorate the aſſumption of the Virgin Mary; and are of opinion, that no Chriſtians, beſide themſelves, have a true ſenſe of the greatneſs of the mother of God, or pay her the honours that are due to her. There are ſome tribes amongſt them, (for they are diſtinguiſhed like the Jews by their tribes), among whom the crime of ſwearing by the name of the Virgin is puniſhed with forfeiture of goods, and even with loſs of life. They are equally

qually ſcrupulous of ſwearing by St George. Every week they keep a feaſt to the honour of the apoſtles and angels; they come to maſs with great devotion, and love to hear the word of God. They receive the ſacrament often, but do not always prepare themſelves by confeſſion. Their charity to the poor may be ſaid to exceed the proper bounds that prudence ought to ſet to it; for it contributes to encourage great numbers of beggars, which are a great annoyance to the whole kingdom; and as I have often ſaid, afford more exerciſe to a Chriſtian's patience, than his charity: for their inſolence is ſuch, that they will refuſe what is offered them, if it be not ſo much as they think proper to aſk.

Though the Abyſſins have not many images, they have great numbers of pictures, and perhaps pay them ſomewhat too high a degree of worſhip. The ſeverity of their faſts is equal to that of the primitive church: In Lent they never eat till after ſunſet. Their faſts are the more ſevere, becauſe milk and butter are forbidden them; and no reaſon or neceſſity whatſoever can procure them a permiſſion to eat meat; and their country affording no fiſh, they live only on roots and pulſe. On faſt days they never drink, but at their meat; and the prieſts never communicate till evening, for fear of profaning them. They do not think themſelves obliged to faſt, till they have children either married, or fit to be married; which yet doth not ſecure them very long from theſe mortifications, becauſe their youths marry at the age of ten years, and their girls younger.

There is no nation where excommunication carries greater terrors than among the Abyſſins, which puts it in the power of the prieſts to abuſe this religious temper of the people, as well as the authority they receive from

it; by excommunicating them, as they often do, for the leaſt trifle in which their intereſt is concerned.

No country in the world is ſo full of churches, monaſteries, and eccleſiaſtics, as Abyſſinia; it is not poſſible to ſing in one church or monaſtery without being heard by another, and perhaps by ſeveral. They ſing the pſalms of David, of which, as well as the other parts of the holy ſcriptures, they have a very exact tranſlation in their own language, in which, though accounted canonical, the books of the Maccabees are omitted. The inſtruments of muſic made uſe of in their rites of worſhip are little drums, which they hang about their necks, and beat with both their hands; theſe are carried even by their chief men, and by the graveſt of their eccleſiaſtics. They have ſticks likewiſe with which they ſtrike the ground, accompanying the blow with a motion of their whole bodies. They begin their concert by ſtamping their feet on the ground, and playing gently on their inſtruments; but when they have heated themſelves by degrees, they leave off drumming, and fall to leaping, dancing, and clapping their hands; at the ſame time ſtraining their voices to their utmoſt pitch, till, at length, they have no regard either to the tune or the pauſes; and ſeem rather a riotous, than a religious aſſembly. For this manner of worſhip they cite the pſalm of David; *O clap your hands all ye nations.* Thus they miſapply the ſacred writings, to defend practices yet more corrupt than thoſe I have been ſpeaking of.

They are poſſeſſed with a ſtrange notion that they are the only true Chriſtians in the world; as for us, they ſhuned us as heretics, and were under the greateſt ſurprize at hearing us mention the Virgin Mary with the reſpect which is due to her; and told us, that we could not be entirely barbarians, ſince we were acquainted with

with the mother of God. It plainly appears, that prepoſſeſſions ſo ſtrong, which receive more ſtrength from the ignorance of the people, have very little tendency to diſpoſe them to a re-union with the Catholic church.

They have ſome opinions peculiar to themſelves about purgatory, the creation of ſouls, and ſome of our myſteries. They repeat baptiſm every year, they retain the practice of circumciſion, they obſerve the Sabbath, they abſtain from all thoſe ſorts of fleſh which are forbidden by the law: brothers eſpouſe the wives of their brothers; and to conclude, they obſerve a great number of Jewiſh ceremonies.

Though they know the words which Jeſus Chriſt appointed to be uſed in the adminiſtration of baptiſm, they have, without ſcruple, ſubſtituted others in their place, which makes the validity of their baptiſm and the reality of their Chriſtianity very doubtful. They have a few names of ſaints the ſame with thoſe in the Roman martyrology; but they often inſert others, as Zama la Cota, the life of truth; Ongulari, the Evangeliſt; Aſca Georgi, the mouth of St George.

To bring back this people into the incloſure of the Catholic church, from which they had been ſeparated ſo many ages, was the ſole view and intention with which we undertook ſo long and toilſome a journey; croſſed ſo many ſeas, and paſſed ſo many deſarts, with the utmoſt hazard of our lives. I am certain that we travelled more than ſeven thouſand leagues before we arrived at our reſidence at Fremona.

We came to this place, anciently called Maigoga, on the twenty-firſt of June, as I have ſaid before, and were obliged to continue there till November, becauſe the Winter begins here in May, and its greateſt rigour is from the middle of June to the middle of September.

The rains, that are almoſt continually falling in this ſeaſon, make it impoſſible to go far from home, for the rivers overflow their banks; and therefore, in a place like this, where there are neither bridges nor boats, are, if they are not fordable, utterly impaſſable. Some indeed have croſſed them by means of a cord faſtened on both ſides of the water; others tie two beams together, and placing themſelves upon them, guide them as well as they can; but this experiment is ſo dangerous, that it hath coſt many of theſe bold adventurers their lives. This is not all the danger, for there is yet more to be apprehended from the unwholeſomeneſs of the air, and the vapours which ariſe from the ſcorched earth at the fall of the firſt ſhowers, than from the torrents and rivers. Even they who ſhelter themſelves in houſes find great difficulty to avoid the diſeaſes that proceed from the noxious qualities of theſe vapours. From the beginning of June to that of September, it rains more or leſs every day. The morning is generally fair and bright, but about two hours after noon the ſky is clouded, and immediately ſucceeds a violent ſtorm, with thunder and lightning flaſhing in the moſt dreadful manner. While this laſts, which is commonly three or four hours, none go out of doors. The ploughman, upon the firſt appearance of it, unyokes his oxen, and betakes himſelf with them into covert. Travellers provide for their ſecurity in the neighbouring villages, or ſet up their tents: every body flies to ſome ſhelter, as well to avoid the unwholeſomeneſs as the violence of the rain. The thunder is aſtoniſhing, and the lightning often deſtroys great numbers, a thing I can ſpeak of from my own experience; for it once flaſhed ſo near me, that I felt an uneaſineſs on that ſide for a long time after; at the ſame time it killed three young children, and having run

round

round my room, went out and killed a man and woman three hundred paces off. When the ſtorm is over, the ſun ſhines out as before; and one would not imagine it had rained, but that the ground appears deluged. Thus paſſes the Abyſſinian winter, a dreadful ſeaſon, in which the whole kingdom languiſhes with numberleſs diſeaſes; an affliction, which, however grievous, is yet equalled by the clouds of graſshoppers, which fly in ſuch numbers from the deſart, that the ſun is hid and the ſky darkened. Whenever this plague appears, nothing is ſeen through the whole region, but the moſt ghaſtly conſternation; or heard, but the moſt piercing lamentations; for wherever they fall, that unhappy place is laid waſte and ruined; they leave not one blade of graſs, nor any hopes of a harveſt.

God, who often makes calamities ſubſervient to his will, permitted this very affliction to be the cauſe of the converſion of many of the natives, who might have otherwiſe died in their errors; for part of the country being ruined by the graſshoppers that year in which we arrived at Abyſſinia, many who were forced to leave their habitations, and ſeek the neceſſaries of life in other places, came to that part of the land where ſome of our miſſionaries were preaching, and laid hold on that mercy which God ſeemed to have appointed for others.

As we could not go to court before November, we reſolved, that we might not be idle, to preach and inſtruct the people in the country. In purſuance of this reſolution, I was ſent to a mountain, two days journey diſtant from Maigoga. The lord or governor of the place was a Catholic, and had deſired miſſionaries; but his wife had conceived an implacable averſion both from us and the Roman church, and almoſt all the inhabitants of that mountain were infected with the ſame prejudices as ſhe.

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They had been perſuaded, that the hoſts which we conſecrated and gave to the communicants, were mixed with juices ſtrained from the fleſh of a camel, a dog, a hare, and a ſwine, all creatures which the Abyſſins look upon with abhorrence, believing them unclean, and forbidden to them, as they were to the Jews. We had no way of undeceiving them, and they fled from us whenever we approached. We carried with us our tent, our chalices, and ornaments, and all that was neceſſary for ſaying maſs. The lord of the village, who, like other perſons of quality throughout Ethiopia, lived on the top of a mountain, received us with very great civility. All that depended upon him had built their huts round about him; ſo that this place, compared with the other towns of Abyſſinia, ſeems conſiderable. As ſoon as we arrived he ſent us his compliments, with a preſent of a cow, which, among them, is a token of high reſpect. We had no way of returning this favour but by killing the cow, and ſending a quarter ſmoking, with the gall, which amongſt them is eſteemed the moſt delicate part. I imagined, for ſome time, that the gall of animals was leſs bitter in this country than elſewhere; but upon taſting it, I found it more; and yet have frequently ſeen our ſervants drink large glaſſes of it with the ſame pleaſure that we drink the moſt delicious wines.

We choſe to begin our miſſion with the lady of the village, and hoped that her prejudice and obſtinacy, however great, would in time yield to the advice and example of her huſband, and that her converſion would have a great influence on the whole village: but having loſt ſeveral days without being able to prevail upon her to hear us on any one point, we left the place, and went to another mountain, higher and better peopled. When we came to the village, on the top of it where the lord lived,

lived, we were ſurpriſed with the cries and lamentations of men that ſeemed to ſuffer, or apprehend, ſome dreadful calamity; and were told, upon enquiring the cauſe, that the inhabitants had been perſuaded that we were the devil's miſſionaries, who came to ſeduce them from the true religion: that, foreſeeing ſome of their neighbours would be ruined by the temptation, they were lamenting the misfortune which was coming upon them. When we began to apply ourſelves to the work of the miſſion, we could not by any means perſuade any but the lord and the prieſt to receive us into their houſes; the reſt were rough and untractable to that degree, that, after having converted ſix, we deſpaired of making any farther progreſs, and thought it beſt to remove to other towns where we might be better received.

We found, however, a more unpleaſing treatment at the next place, and had certainly ended our lives there, had we not been protected by the governor and the prieſt; who, though not reconciled to the Roman church, yet ſhewed us the utmoſt civility. The governor informed us of a deſign againſt our lives, adviſed us not to go out after ſunſet, and gave us guards to protect us from the inſults of the populace.

We made no long ſtay in a place where they ſtopped their ears againſt the voice of God, but returned to the foot of that mountain which we had left ſome days before. We were ſurrounded, as ſoon as we began to preach, with a multitude of auditors, who came either in expectation of being inſtructed, or from a deſire of gratifying their curioſity; and God beſtowed ſuch a bleſſing upon our apoſtolical labours, that the whole village was converted in a ſhort time. We then removed to another at the middle of the mountain, ſituated in a kind of natural parterre, or garden: the ſoil was fruitful, and

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the trees that ſhaded it from the ſcorching heat of the ſun gave it an agreeable and refreſhing coolneſs. We had here the convenience of improving the ardour and piety of our new converts; and at the ſame time of leading more into the way of the true religion. And indeed our ſucceſs exceeded the utmoſt of our hopes: we had in a ſhort time great numbers whom we thought capable of being admitted to the ſacraments of baptiſm and the maſs.

We erected our tent and placed our altar under ſome great trees, for the benefit of the ſhade; and every day, before ſun riſing, my companion and I began to catechiſe and inſtruct theſe new Catholics; and uſed our utmoſt endeavours to make them abjure their errors. When we were weary with ſpeaking, we placed in ranks thoſe who were ſufficiently inſtructed, and paſſing through them with great veſſels of water, baptized them according to the form preſcribed by the church. As their number was very great, we cried aloud, thoſe of this rank are named Peter, thoſe of that rank Anthony: and did the ſame amongſt the women, whom we ſeparated from the men. We then confeſſed them, and admitted them to the communion. After maſs we applied ourſelves again to catechiſe, to inſtruct, and receive the renunciation of their errors, ſcarce allowing ourſelves time to make a ſcanty meal, which we never did more than once a-day.

After ſome time had been ſpent here we removed to another town not far diſtant, and continued the ſame practice. Here I was accoſted one day by an inhabitant of that place, where we had found the people ſo prejudiced againſt us, who deſired to be admitted to confeſſion. I could not forbear aſking him ſome queſtions about thoſe lamentations which we heard upon our entering into that place. He confeſſed with the utmoſt frankneſs and ingenuity,

genuity, that the prieſts and religious had given dreadful accounts both of us and of the religion we preached; that the unhappy people were taught by them, that the curſe of God attended us whereſoever we went; that we were always followed by the graſshoppers, that peſt of Abyſſinia, which carried famine and deſtruction over all the country; that he, ſeeing no graſshoppers following us when we paſſed by their village, began to doubt of the reality of what the prieſts had ſo confidently aſſerted, and was now convinced that the repreſentation they made of us was calumny and impoſture. This diſcourſe gave us double pleaſure, both as it proved that God had confuted the accuſations of our enemies, and defended us againſt their malice without any efforts of our own; and that the people who had ſhuned us with the ſtrongeſt deteſtation, were yet lovers of truth, and came to us on their own accord.

Nothing could be more groſsly abſurd than the reproaches which the Abyſſinian eccleſiaſtics aſperſed us and our religion with. They had taken advantage of the calamity that happened the year of our arrival; and the Abyſſins, with all their wit, did not conſider that they had often been diſtreſſed by the graſshoppers, before there came any Jeſuits into the country; and indeed before there were any in the world.

Whilſt I was in theſe mountains, I went on Sundays and Saints days ſometimes to one church and ſometimes to another. One day I went out with a reſolution not to go to a certain church, where I imagined there was no occaſion for me; but before I had gone far, I found myſelf preſſed by a ſecret impulſe to return back to that ſame church. I obeyed the influence, and diſcovered it to proceed from the mercy of God to three young children, who were deſtitute of all ſuccour, and at the point

point of death. I found two very quickly in this miſerable ſtate. The mother had retired to ſome diſtance that ſhe might not ſee them die; and when ſhe ſaw me ſtop, came and told me that they had been obliged by want to leave the town they lived in, and were at length reduced to this diſmal condition; that ſhe had been baptized, but that the children had not. After I had baptized and relieved them, I continued my walk, reflecting with wonder on the mercy of God; and about evening diſcovered another infant, whoſe mother, evidently a Catholic, cried out to me to ſave her child, or at leaſt, that if I could not preſerve this uncertain and periſhable life, I ſhould give it another certain and permanent. I ſent my ſervant to fetch water with the utmoſt expedition; for there was none near; and happily baptized the child before it expired.

Soon after this I returned to Fremona, and had great hopes of accompanying the patriarch to the court; but when we were almoſt ſetting out, received the command of the ſuperior of the miſſion to ſtay at Fremona, with a charge of the houſe there, and of all the Catholics that were diſperſed over the kingdom of Tigre; an employment very ill proportioned to my abilities. The houſe of Fremona has always been much regarded, even by thoſe emperors who perſecuted us. Sultan Segued annexed nine large manors to it for ever, which did not make us much more wealthy, becauſe of the expenſive hoſpitality which the great conflux of ſtrangers obliged us to. The lands in Abyſſinia yield but ſmall revenues, unleſs the owners themſelves ſet the value upon them, which we could not do.

The manner of letting farms in Abyſſinia differs much from that of other countries: The farmer, when the harveſt is almoſt ripe, invites the chumo or ſteward, who

who is appointed to make an eſtimate of the value of each year's product, to his houſe, entertains him in the moſt agreeable manner he can; makes him a preſent; and then takes him to ſee his corn. If the chumo is pleaſed with the treat and preſent, he will give him a declaration, or writing, to witneſs that his ground, which afforded five or ſix ſacks of corn, did not yield ſo many buſhels; and even of this it is the cuſtom to abate ſomething: ſo that our revenue did not increaſe in proportion to our lands; and we found ourſelves often obliged to buy corn, which, indeed, is not dear; for in fruitful years, forty or fifty meaſures, weighing each about twenty-two pounds, may be purchaſed for a crown.

Beſides the particular charge I had of the houſe of Fremona, I was appointed the patriarch's grand Vicar through the whole kingdom of Tigre. I thought, that to diſcharge this office as I ought, it was incumbent on me to provide neceſſaries as well for the bodies as the ſouls of the converted Catholics. This labour was much increaſed by the famine which the graſshoppers had brought that year upon the country. Our houſe was perpetually ſurrounded by ſome of thoſe unhappy people, whom want had compelled to abandon their habitations, and whoſe pale cheeks and meagre bodies were undeniable proofs of their miſery and diſtreſs. All the relief I could poſſibly afford them could not prevent the death of ſuch numbers, that their bodies filled the highways; and to increaſe our affliction, the wolves having devoured the carcaſes, and finding no other food, fell upon the living; their natural fierceneſs being ſo increaſed by hunger, that they dragged the children out of the very houſes. I ſaw myſelf a troop of wolves tear a child of ſix years old in pieces, before I, or any one elſe, could come to its aſſiſtance.

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While I was entirely taken up with the duties of my miniſtry, the viceroy of Tigre received the commands of the emperor to ſearch for the bones of Don Chriſtopher de Gama. On this occaſion, it may not be thought impertinent to give ſome account of the life and death of this brave and holy Portugueſe, who, after having been ſucceſsful in many battles, fell at laſt into the hands of the Moors, and completed that illuſtrious life by a glorious martyrdom.

CHAP. V.

The adventures of the Portugueſe, and the actions of Don Chriſtopher de Gama in Ethiopia.

ABOUT the beginning of the ſixteenth century aroſe a Moor, near the Cape of Gardafui, who, by the aſſiſtance of the forces ſent him from Moca by the Arabs and Turks, conquered almoſt all Abyſſinia, and founded the kingdom of Adel. He was called Mahomet Gragné, or the lame. When he had ravaged Ethiopia fourteen years, and was maſter of the greateſt part of it, the emperor David ſent to implore ſuccour of the king of Portugal, with a promiſe, that when thoſe dominions were recovered which had been taken from him, he would entirely ſubmit himſelf to the Pope, and reſign the third part of his territories to the Portugueſe. After many delays, occaſioned by the great diſtance between Portugal and Abyſſinia, and ſome unſucceſsful attempts, king John the third, having made Don Stephen de Gama, ſon of the celebrated Don Vaſco de Gama, viceroy of the

Indies, gave him orders to enter the Red ſea in purſuit of the Turkiſh gallies, and to fall upon them wherever he found them, even in the port of Suez. The viceroy, in obedience to the king's commands, equipped a powerful fleet, went on board himſelf, and cruiſed about the coaſt without being able to diſcover the Turkiſh veſſels. Enraged to find, that with this great preparation he ſhould be able to effect nothing, he landed at Mazua four hundred Portugueſe, under the command of Don Chriſtopher de Gama, his brother: he was ſoon joined by ſome Abyſſins, who had not yet forgot their allegiance to their ſovereign; and in his march up the country was met by the empreſs Helena, who received him as her deliverer. At firſt nothing was able to ſtand before the valour of the Portugueſe. The Moors were driven from one mountain to another, and were diſlodged even from thoſe places which it ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to approach, even unmoleſted by the oppoſition of an enemy.

Theſe ſucceſſes ſeemed to promiſe a more happy event than that which followed them. It was now winter, a ſeaſon in which, as the reader hath been already informed, it is almoſt impoſſible to travel in Ethiopia. The Portugueſe unadviſedly engaged themſelves in an enterpriſe, to march through the whole country, in order to join the emperor, who was then in the moſt remote part of his dominions. Mahomet, who was in poſſeſſion of the mountains, being informed by his ſpies that the Portugueſe were but four hundred, encamped in the plain of Ballut; and ſent a meſſage to the general, that he knew the Abyſſins had impoſed on the king of Portugal, which, being acquainted with their treachery, he was not ſurpriſed at; and that in compaſſion of the commander's youth, he would give him and his men, if they would return, free paſſage, and furniſh them with neceſſaries;

that he might conſult upon the matter, and depend upon his word; reminding him, however, that it was not ſafe to refuſe his offer.

The general preſented the ambaſſador with a rich robe, and returned this gallant anſwer: "That he, and his fellow-"ſoldiers were come with an intention to drive Mahomet "out of theſe countries which he had wrongfully uſurp-"ed: that his preſent deſign was, inſtead of returning "back the way he came, as Mahomet adviſed, to open "himſelf a paſſage through the country of his enemies: "that Mahomet ſhould rather think of determining "whether he would fight or yield up his ill-gotten terri-"tories, than of preſcribing meaſures to him: that he "put his whole confidence in the omnipotence of God, "and the juſtice of his cauſe; and that, to ſhew how juſt "a ſenſe he had of Mahomet's kindneſs, he took the li-"berty of preſenting him with a looking-glaſs and a "pair of pincers."

This anſwer and the preſent ſo provoked Mahomet, who was at dinner when he received it, that he roſe from table immediately to march againſt the Portugueſe, imagining he ſhould meet with no reſiſtance; and indeed any man, however brave, would have been of the ſame opinion; for his forces conſiſted of fifteen thouſand foot, beſides a numerous body of cavalry; and the Portugueſe commander had but three hundred and fifty men, having loſt eight in attacking ſome paſſes, and left forty at Mazua, to maintain an open intercourſe with the viceroy of the Indies. This little troop of our countrymen were upon the declivity of a hill near a wood; above them ſtood the Abyſſins, who reſolved to remain quiet ſpectators of the battle, and to declare themſelves on that ſide which ſhould be favoured with victory.

Mahomet began the attack with only ten horſemen, againſt

gainſt whom as many Portugueſe were detached, who fired with ſo much exactneſs that nine of the Moors fell, and the tenth with great difficulty made his eſcape. This omen of good fortune gave the ſoldiers great encouragement; the action grew hot, and they came at length to a general battle; but the Moors, diſmayed by the advantages our men had obtained at firſt, were half defeated before the fight. The great fire of our muſkets and artillery broke them immediately. Mahomet preſerved his own life not without difficulty; but did not loſe his capacity with the battle. He had ſtill a great number of troops remaining, which he rallied, and entrenched himſelf at Membret, a place naturally ſtrong, with an intention to paſs the winter there, and wait for ſuccours.

The Portugueſe, who were more deſirous of glory than wealth, did not encumber themſelves with plunder, but with the utmoſt expedition purſued their enemies, in hopes of cutting them entirely off. This expectation was too ſanguine; they found them encamped in a place naturally almoſt inacceſſible, and ſo well fortified, that it would be no leſs than extreme raſhneſs to attack them. They therefore entrenched themſelves on a hill over againſt the enemies camp; and, though victorious, were under great diſadvantages. They ſee new troops arrive every day at the enemies camp, and their ſmall number grew leſs continually; their friends at Mazua could not join them; they knew not how to procure proviſions, and could put no confidence in the Abyſſins; yet, recollecting the great things atchieved by their countrymen, and depending on the divine protection, they made no doubt of ſurmounting all difficulties.

Mahomet on his part was not idle; he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the Mahometan princes, preſſed them with all the motives of religion, and obtained a reinforcement of

two thouſand muſqueteers from the Arabs, and a train of artillery from the Turks. Animated with theſe ſuccours, he marched out of his trenches to enter thoſe of the Portugueſe, who received him with the utmoſt bravery, deſtroyed prodigious numbers of his men, and made many ſallies with great vigour; but loſing every day ſome of their ſmall troops, and moſt of their officers being killed, it was eaſy to ſurround and force them.

Their general had already one arm broken, and his knee ſhattered with a muſket-ſhot, which made him unable to repair to all thoſe places where his preſence was neceſſary to animate his ſoldiers. Valour was at length forced to ſubmit to ſuperiority of numbers; the enemy entered the camp, and put all to the ſword. The general with ten more eſcaped the ſlaughter, and by means of their horſes retreated to a wood, where they were ſoon diſcovered by a detachment ſent in ſearch of them, and brought to Mahomet, who was overjoyed to ſee his moſt formidable enemy in his power, and ordered him to take care of his uncle and nephew, who were wounded, telling him he ſhould anſwer for their lives; and, upon their death, taxed him with haſtening it. The brave Portugueſe made no excuſes, but told him he came thither to deſtroy Mahometans, and not to ſave them. Mahomet enraged at this language, ordered a ſtone to be put on his head; and expoſed this great man to the inſults and reproaches of the whole army. After this they inflicted various kinds of tortures on him, which he endured with incredible reſolution, and without uttering the leaſt complaint, praiſing the mercy of God who had ordained him to ſuffer in ſuch a cauſe.

Mahomet, at laſt ſatisfied with cruelty, made an offer of ſending him to the viceroy of the Indies, if he would turn Muſſulman. The hero took fire at this propoſal, and an-

anſwered with the higheſt indignation, that nothing ſhould make him forſake his heavenly Maſter to follow an impoſtor; and continued in the ſevereſt terms to vilify their falſe prophet, till Mahomet ſtruck off his head.

Nor did the reſentment of Mahomet end here; he divided his body into quarters, and ſent them to different places. The Catholics gathered the remains of this glorious martyr and interred them. Every Moor that paſſed by threw a ſtone upon his grave, and raiſed in time ſuch an heap, as I found it difficult to remove when I went in ſearch of thoſe precious relics.

What I have here related of the death of Don Chriſtopher de Gama, I was told by an old man who was an eye-witneſs of it. And there is a tradition in the country, that in the place where his head fell, a fountain ſprung up of wonderful virtue, which cured many diſeaſes otherwiſe paſt remedy.

CHAP. VI.

Mahomet continues the war, and is killed. The ſtratagem of Peter Leon.

MAHOMET, that he might make the beſt uſe of his victory, ranged over a great part of Abyſſinia, in ſearch of the emperor Claudius, who was then in the kingdom of Dambia. All places ſubmitted to the Mahometan, whoſe inſolence increaſed every day with his power; and nothing, after the defeat of the Portugueſe, was ſuppoſed able to put a ſtop to the progreſs of his arms.

that he might conſult upon the matter, and depend upon his word; reminding him, however, that it was not ſafe to refuſe his offer.

The general preſented the ambaſſador with a rich robe, and returned this gallant anſwer: "That he, and his fellow-"ſoldiers were come with an intention to drive Mahomet "out of theſe countries which he had wrongfully uſurp-"ed: that his preſent deſign was, inſtead of returning "back the way he came, as Mahomet adviſed, to open "himſelf a paſſage through the country of his enemies: "that Mahomet ſhould rather think of determining "whether he would fight or yield up his ill-gotten terri-"tories, than of preſcribing meaſures to him: that he "put his whole confidence in the omnipotence of God, "and the juſtice of his cauſe; and that, to ſhew how juſt "a ſenſe he had of Mahomet's kindneſs, he took the li-"berty of preſenting him with a looking-glaſs and a "pair of pincers."

This anſwer and the preſent ſo provoked Mahomet, who was at dinner when he received it, that he roſe from table immediately to march againſt the Portugueſe, imagining he ſhould meet with no reſiſtance; and indeed any man, however brave, would have been of the ſame opinion; for his forces conſiſted of fifteen thouſand foot, beſides a numerous body of cavalry; and the Portugueſe commander had but three hundred and fifty men, having loſt eight in attacking ſome paſſes, and left forty at Mazua, to maintain an open intercourſe with the viceroy of the Indies. This little troop of our countrymen were upon the declivity of a hill near a wood; above them ſtood the Abyſſins, who reſolved to remain quiet ſpectators of the battle, and to declare themſelves on that ſide which ſhould be favoured with victory.

Mahomet began the attack with only ten horſemen, againſt

gainſt whom as many Portugueſe were detached, who fired with ſo much exactneſs that nine of the Moors fell, and the tenth with great difficulty made his eſcape. This omen of good fortune gave the ſoldiers great encouragement; the action grew hot, and they came at length to a general battle; but the Moors, diſmayed by the advantages our men had obtained at firſt, were half defeated before the fight. The great fire of our muſkets and artillery broke them immediately. Mahomet preſerved his own life not without difficulty; but did not loſe his capacity with the battle. He had ſtill a great number of troops remaining, which he rallied, and entrenched himſelf at Membret, a place naturally ſtrong, with an intention to paſs the winter there, and wait for ſuccours.

The Portugueſe, who were more deſirous of glory than wealth, did not encumber themſelves with plunder, but with the utmoſt expedition purſued their enemies, in hopes of cutting them entirely off. This expectation was too ſanguine; they found them encamped in a place naturally almoſt inacceſſible, and ſo well fortified, that it would be no leſs than extreme raſhneſs to attack them. They therefore entrenched themſelves on a hill over againſt the enemies camp; and, though victorious, were under great diſadvantages. They ſee new troops arrive every day at the enemies camp, and their ſmall number grew leſs continually; their friends at Mazua could not join them; they knew not how to procure proviſions, and could put no confidence in the Abyſſins; yet, recollecting the great things atchieved by their countrymen, and depending on the divine protection, they made no doubt of ſurmounting all difficulties.

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CHAP. VI.

Mahomet continues the war, and is killed. The ſtratagem of Peter Leon.

MAHOMET, that he might make the beſt uſe of his victory, ranged over a great part of Abyſſinia, in ſearch of the emperor Claudius, who was then in the kingdom of Dambia. All places ſubmitted to the Mahometan, whoſe inſolence increaſed every day with his power; and nothing, after the defeat of the Portugueſe, was ſuppoſed able to put a ſtop to the progreſs of his arms.

The ſoldiers of Portugal, having loſt their chief, reſorted to the emperor, (who, though young, promiſed great things), and told him, that ſince their own general was dead they would accept of none but himſelf. He received them with great kindneſs; and hearing of Don Chriſtopher de Gama's misfortune, could not forbear honouring with ſome tears the memory of a man who had come ſo far to his ſuccour, and loſt his life in his cauſe.

The Portugueſe reſolved at any rate to revenge the fate of their general, deſired the emperor to aſſign them the poſt oppoſite to Mahomet, which was willingly granted them. That king fluſhed with his victories, and imagining to fight was undoubtedly to conquer, ſought all occaſions of giving the Abyſſins battle. The Portugueſe, who deſired nothing more than to re-eſtabliſh their reputation by revenging the affront put upon them by the late defeat, adviſed the emperor to lay hold on the firſt opportunity of fighting. Both parties joined battle with equal fury. The Portugueſe directed all their force againſt that part where Mahomet was poſted. Peter Leon, who had been ſervant to the general, ſingled the king out among the crowd, and ſhot him into the head with his muſket. Mahomet, finding himſelf wounded, would have retired out of the battle, and was followed by Peter Leon, till he fell down dead: the Portugueſe alighting from his horſe, cut off one of his ears. The Moors being now without a leader continued the fight but a little time, and at length fled different ways in the utmoſt diſorder; the Abyſſins purſued them, and made a prodigious ſlaughter. One of them ſeeing the king's body on the ground, cut off his head, and preſented it to the emperor; the ſight of it filled the whole camp with acclamations; every one applauded the valour and good fortune of the Abyſſin, and no reward was thought great enough

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for ſo important a ſervice. Peter Leon, having ſtood by ſome time, aſked, whether the king had but one ear? if he had two, ſays he, it ſeems likely that the man who killed him cut off one, and keeps it as a proof of his exploit. The Abyſſin ſtood confuſed, and the Portugueſe produced the ear out of his pocket: every one commended the ſtratagem, and the emperor commanded the Abyſſin to reſtore all the preſents he had received, and delivered them with many more to Peter Leon.

I imagined the reader would not be diſpleaſed to be informed who this man was, whoſe precious remains were ſearched for by a viceroy of Tigre, at the command of the emperor himſelf. The commiſſion was directed to me, nor did I ever receive one that was more welcome on many accounts. I had contracted an intimate friendſhip with the Count de Vidigueira, viceroy of the Indies, and had been deſired by him, when I took my leave of him upon going to Melinda, to inform myſelf were his relation was buried, and to ſend him ſome of his relics.

The viceroy, ſon-in-law to the emperor, with whom I was joined in the commiſſion, gave me many diſtinguiſhing proofs of his affection to me, and of his zeal for the Catholic religion. It was a journey of fifteen days, thro' a part of the country poſſeſſed by the Galles, which made it neceſſary to take troops with us for our ſecurity; yet, notwithſtanding this precaution, the hazard of the expedition appeared ſo great, that our friends bade us farewel with tears, and looked upon us as deſtined to unavoidable deſtruction. The viceroy had given orders to ſome troops to join us on the road, ſo that our little army grew ſtronger as we advanced. There is no making long marches in this country; an army here is a great city well peopled, and under exact government; they take their wives and children with them, and the camp

hath its ſtreets, its market-places, its churches, courts of juſtice, judges, and civil officers.

Before they ſet forward, they advertiſe the governors of provinces through which they are to paſs, that they may take care to furniſh what is neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the troops. Theſe governors give notice to the adjacent places, that the army is to march that way on ſuch a day, and that they are aſſeſſed ſuch a quantity of bread, beer, and cows. The peaſants are very exact in ſupplying their quota, being obliged to pay double the value in caſe of failure, and very often, when they have produced their full ſhare, they are told, that they have been deficient, and condemned to buy their peace with a large fine.

When the providore has received theſe contributions, he divides them according to the number of perſons, and the want they are in: the proportion they obſerve in this diſtribution, is twenty pots of beer, ten of mead, and one cow, to an hundred loaves. The chief officers and perſons of note carry their own proviſions with them, which I did too, though I afterwards found the precaution unneceſſary; for I had often two or three cows more than I wanted, which I beſtowed on thoſe whoſe allowance fell ſhort.

The Abyſſins are not only obliged to maintain the troops in their march, but to repair the roads, to clear them, eſpecially in the foreſts, of brambles and thorns, and by all means poſſible to facilitate the paſſage of the army. They are by long cuſtom extremely ready at encamping. As ſoon as they come to a place they think convenient to halt at, the officer that commands the vanguard, marks out with his pike the place for the king's, or viceroy's tent; every one knows his rank, and how much

much ground he ſhall take up; ſo the camp is formed in an inſtant.

CHAP. VII.

They diſcover the relics. Their apprehenſion of the Galles. The Author converts a criminal, and procures his pardon.

WE took with us an old Moor, ſo enfeebled with age that they were forced to carry him; he had ſeen, as I have ſaid, the ſufferings and death of Don Chriſtopher de Gama; and a Chriſtian, who had often heard all thoſe paſſages related to his father, and knew the place where the uncle and nephew of Mahomet were buried, and where they interred one quarter of the Portugueſe martyr. We often examined theſe two men, and always apart; they agreed in every circumſtance of their relations, and confirmed us in our belief of them, by leading us to the place, where we took up the uncle and nephew of Mahomet, as they had deſcribed. With no ſmall labour we removed the heap of ſtones, which the Moors, according to their cuſtom, had thrown upon the body, and diſcovered the treaſure we came in ſearch of. Not many paces off was the fountain where they had thrown his head, with a dead dog, to raiſe a greater averſion in the Moors. I gathered the teeth and the lower jaw. No words can expreſs the extacies I was tranſported with at ſeeing the relics of ſo great a man, and reflecting, that it had pleaſed God to make me the inſtrument of their preſervation; ſo that one day, if our holy Father the Pope ſhall be ſo pleaſed, they may receive

ceive the veneration of the faithful. All burſt into tears at the ſight. We indulged a melancholy pleaſure in reflecting what that great man had atchieved for the deliverance of Abyſſinia from the yoke and tyranny of the Moors; the voyages he had undertaken; the battles he had fought; the victories he had won; and the cruel and tragical death he had ſuffered. Our firſt moments were ſo entirely taken up with theſe reflections, that we were incapable of conſidering the danger we were in of being immediately ſurrounded by the Galles: but as ſoon as we awaked to that thought, we contrived to retreat as faſt as we could. Our expedition, however, was not ſo great, but we ſaw them on the top of a mountain ready to pour down upon us. The viceroy attended us cloſely with his little army, but had been probably not much more ſecure than we, his force conſiſting only of foot, and the Galles entirely of horſe, a ſervice at which they are very expert. Our apprehenſions at laſt proved to be needleſs, for the troops we ſaw were of a nation at that time in alliance with the Abyſſins.

Not caring, after this alarm, to ſtay longer here, we ſet out on our march back; and in our return paſſed through a village, where two men, who had murdered a domeſtic of the viceroy, lay under an arreſt; as they had been taken in the fact. The law of the country allowed that they might have been executed the ſame hour, but the viceroy having ordered that their death ſhould be deferred till his return, delivered them to the relations of the dead, to be diſpoſed of as they ſhould think proper. They made great rejoicings all the night, on account of having it in their power to revenge their relation; and the unhappy criminals had the mortification of

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ſtanding by to behold this jollity, and the preparations made for their execution.

The Abyſſins have three different ways of putting a criminal to death: One way is to bury him to the neck, to lay a heap of brambles upon his head, and to cover the whole with a great ſtone: Another is to beat him to death with cudgels: A third, and the moſt uſual, is to ſtab him with their lances. The neareſt relation gives the firſt thruſt, and is followed by all the reſt, according to their degrees of kindred; and they to whom it does not happen to ſtrike while the offender is alive, dip the points of their lances in his blood, to ſhew that they partake in the revenge. It frequently happens that the relations of the criminal are for taking the like vengeance for his death, and ſometimes purſue this reſolution ſo far, that all thoſe who had any ſhare in the proſecution loſe their lives.

I being informed that theſe two men were to die, wrote to the viceroy for his permiſſion to exhort them, before they entered into eternity, to unite themſelves to the church. My requeſt being granted, I applied myſelf to the men, and found one of them ſo obſtinate that he would not even afford me an hearing, and died in his error. The other I found more flexible, and wrought upon him ſo far, that he came to my tent to be inſtructed. After my care of his eternal welfare had met with ſuch ſucceſs, I could not forbear attempting ſomething for his temporal; and by my endeavours matters were ſo accommodated, that the relations were willing to grant his life on condition he paid a certain number of cows, or the value. Their firſt demand was of a thouſand, he offered them five; they at laſt were ſatisfied with twelve, provided they were paid upon the ſpot. The Abyſſins are extremely charitable, and the women, on ſuch occaſions, will give

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even their necklaces and pendants; ſo that, with what I gave myſelf, I collected in the camp enough to pay the fine, and all parties were content.

CHAP. VIII.

The viceroy is offended by his wife. He complains to the emperor, but without redreſs. He meditates a revolt, raiſes an army, and makes an attempt to ſeize upon the Author.

WE continued our march, and the viceroy having been advertiſed that ſome troops had appeared in an hoſtile manner on the frontiers, went againſt them. I parted from him, and arrived at Fremona, where the Portugueſe expected me with great impatience. I repoſited the bones of Don Chriſtopher de Gama in a decent place, and ſent them the May following to the viceroy of the Indies, together with his arms, which had been preſented me by a gentleman of Abyſſinia, and a picture of the Virgin Mary, which that gallant Portugueſe always carried about him.

The viceroy, during all the time he was engaged in this expedition, heard very provoking accounts of the bad conduct of his wife, and complained of it to the emperor; entreating him either to puniſh his daughter himſelf, or to permit him to deliver her over to juſtice, that, if ſhe was falſely accuſed, ſhe might have an opportunity of putting her own honour and her huſband's out of diſpute. The emperor took little notice of his ſon-in-law's remonſtrances; and the truth is, the viceroy was

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ſomewhat more nice in that matter than the people of rank in this country generally are. There are laws, it is true, againſt adultery, but they ſeem to have been made only for the meaner people; and the women of quality, eſpecially the Ouzoros, or ladies of the blood-royal, are ſo much above them, that their huſbands have not even the liberty of complaining; and certainly, to ſupport injuries of this kind without complaining, requires a degree of patience which few men can boaſt of. The viceroy's virtue was not proof againſt this temptation; he fell into a deep melancholy, and reſolved to be revenged on his father-in-law. He knew the preſent temper of the people, that thoſe of the greateſt intereſt and power were by no means pleaſed with the changes of religion, and only waited for a fair opportunity to revolt; and that theſe diſcontents were every where heightened by the monks and clergy. Encouraged by theſe reflections, he was always talking of the juſt reaſons he had to complain of the emperor; and gave them ſufficient room to underſtand, that if they would appear in his party he would declare himſelf for the ancient religion, and put himſelf at the head of thoſe who ſhould take arms in the defence of it. The chief and almoſt the only thing that hindered him from raiſing a formidable rebellion, was the mutual diſtruſt they entertained of one another; each fearing, that as ſoon as the emperor ſhould publiſh an act of grace, or general amneſty, the greateſt part would lay down their arms and embrace it; and this ſuſpicion was imagined more reaſonable of the viceroy than of any other. Notwithſtanding this difficulty, the prieſts, who intereſted themſelves much in this revolt, ran with the utmoſt earneſtneſs from church to church, levelling their ſermons againſt the emperor and the Catholic religion; and that they might have the better ſucceſs in putting a ſtop to all eccleſiaſti-

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cal innovations, they came to a reſolution of putting all the miſſionaries to the ſword; and that the viceroy might have no room to hope for a pardon, they obliged him to give the firſt wound to him that ſhould fall into his hands.

As I was the neareſt, and by conſequence the moſt expoſed, an order was immediately iſſued out for apprehending me, it being thought a good expedient to ſeize me, and force me to build a citadel, into which they might retreat, if they ſhould happen to meet with a defeat. The viceroy wrote to me, to deſire that I would come to him, he having, as he ſaid, an affair of the higheſt importance to communicate.

The frequent aſſemblies which the viceroy held had already been much talked of; and I had received advice that he was ready for a revolt, and that my death was to be the firſt ſignal of an open war. Knowing that the viceroy had made many complaints of the treatment he received from his father-in-law, I made no doubt that he had ſome ill deſign in hand; and yet could ſcarce perſuade myſelf, that after all the tokens of friendſhip I had received from him, he would enter into any meaſures for deſtroying me. While I was yet in ſuſpence, I diſpatched a faithful ſervant to the viceroy with my excuſe for diſobeying him; and gave the meſſenger ſtrict orders to obſerve all that paſſed, and bring me an exact account.

This affair was of too great moment not to engage my utmoſt endeavours to arrive at the moſt certain knowledge of it, and to advertiſe the court of the danger. I wrote therefore to one of our fathers, who was then near the emperor, the beſt intelligence I could obtain of all that had paſſed of the reports that were ſpread through all this part of the empire, and of the diſpoſition which I diſcovered

diſcovered in the people to a general defection; telling him, however, that I could not yet believe that the viceroy, who had honoured me with his friendſhip, and of whom I never had any thought but how to oblige him, could now have ſo far changed his ſentiments as to take away my life.

The letters which I received by my ſervant, and the aſſurances he gave that I need fear nothing, for that I was never mentioned by the viceroy without great marks of eſteem, ſo far confirmed me in my error, that I went from Fremona with a reſolution to ſee him. I did not reflect that a man who could fail in his duty to his king, his father-in-law, and his benefactor, might without ſcruple do the ſame to a ſtranger, though diſtinguiſhed as his friend; and thus ſanguine and unſuſpecting continued my journey, ſtill receiving intimation from all parts to take care of myſelf. At length, when I was within a few days journey of the viceroy, I received a billet in more plain and expreſs terms than any thing I had been told yet; charging me with extreme imprudence in putting myſelf into the hands of thoſe men who had undoubtedly ſworn to cut me off.

I began upon this to diſtruſt the ſincerity of the viceroy's profeſſions, and reſolved, upon the receipt of another letter from the viceroy, to return directly. In this letter, having excuſed himſelf for not waiting for my arrival, he deſired me, in terms very ſtrong and preſſing, to come forward, and ſtay for him at his own houſe; aſſuring me, that he had given ſuch orders for my entertainment, as ſhould prevent my being tired with living there. I imagined at firſt that he had left ſome ſervants to provide for my reception; but being advertiſed at the ſame time, that there was no longer any doubt of the certainty of his revolt, that the Galles were engaged to come

to

to his aſſiſtance, and that he was gone to ſign a treaty with them, I was no longer in ſuſpence what meaſures to take, but returned to Fremona.

Here I found a letter from the emperor which prohibited me to go out; and the orders which he had ſent through all theſe parts, directing them to arreſt me wherever I was found, and to hinder me from proceeding on my journey. Theſe orders came too late to contribute to my preſervation; and this prince's goodneſs had been in vain, if God, whoſe protection I have often had experience of in my travels, had not been my conductor in this emergency.

The viceroy, hearing that I was returned to my reſidence, did not diſcover any concern or chagrin as at a diſappointment; for ſuch was his privacy and diſſimulation, that the moſt penetrating could never form any conjecture that could be depended on about his deſigns, till every thing was ready for the execution of them. My ſervant, a man of wit, was ſurpriſed as well as every body elſe; and I can aſcribe to nothing but a miracle, my eſcape from ſo many ſnares as he laid to entrap me.

There happened, during this perplexity of my affairs, an accident of ſmall conſequence in itſelf, which yet I think deſerves to be mentioned, as it ſhews the credulity and ignorance of the Abyſſins. I received a viſit from a religious, who paſſed, though he was blind, for the moſt learned perſon in all that country: he had the whole ſcriptures in his memory, but ſeemed to have been at more pains to retain than underſtand them; as he talked much, he often took occaſion to quote them, and did it almoſt always improperly. Having invited him to ſup and paſs the night with me, I ſet before him ſome excellent mead, which he liked ſo well as to drink ſomewhat beyond the bounds of exact temperance. Next day, to make

make ſome return for this entertainment, he took upon him to divert me with ſome of thoſe ſtories which the Monks amuſe ſimple people with; and told me of a devil that haunted a fountain, and uſed to make it his employment to plague the Monks that came thither to fetch water; and continued his malice, till he was converted by the founder of their order, who found him no very ſtubborn proſelyte till they came to the point of circumciſion. The devil was unhappily prepoſſeſſed with a ſtrong averſion from being circumciſed, which however, by much perſuaſion, he at laſt agreed to; and afterwards taking a religious habit, died ten years after with great ſigns of ſanctity. He added another hiſtory of a famous Abyſſinian Monk who killed a devil two hundred feet high, and only four feet thick, that ravaged all the country. The peaſants had a great deſire to throw the dead carcaſe from the top of the rock, but could not with all their force remove it from the place; but the Monk drew it after him with all imaginable eaſe, and puſhed it down. This ſtory was followed by another, of a young devil that became a religious of the famous monaſtery of Aba-Gatima. The good father would have favoured me with more relations of the ſame kind, if I had been in the humour to have heard them; but, interrupting him, I told him that all theſe relations confirmed what we had found by experience, that the Monks of Abyſſinia were no improper company for the devil.

CHAP. IX.

The viceroy is defeated and hanged. The Author narrowly eſcapes being poiſoned.

I DID not ſtay long at Fremona, but left that town and the province of Tigre, and ſoon found that I was very happy in that reſolution; for ſcarce had I left the place before the viceroy came in perſon to put me to death; who, not finding me as he expected, reſolved to turn all his vengeance againſt the father Gaſpard Paes, a venerable man, who was grown grey in the miſſions of Ethiopia, and five other miſſionaries newly arrived from the Indies. His deſign was to kill them all at one time without ſuffering any to eſcape. He therefore ſent for them all, but one happily being ſick, another ſtaid to attend him: to this they owed their lives; for the viceroy, finding but four of them, ſent them back, telling them he would ſee them all together. The fathers having been already told of his revolt, and of the pretences he made uſe of to give it credit, made no queſtion of his intent to maſſacre them, and contrived their eſcape ſo that they got ſafely out of his power.

The viceroy, diſappointed in this ſcheme, vented all his rage upon father James, whom the Patriarch had given him as his confeſſor. The good man was carried, bound hand and foot, into the middle of the camp; the viceroy gave the firſt ſtab in the throat, and all the reſt ſtruck him with their lances, and dipped their weapons in his blood, promiſing each other that they would never accept of any act of oblivion, or terms of peace, by which the Catholic religion was not aboliſhed throughout the empire,

pire; and all thoſe who profeſſed it either baniſhed or put to death. They then ordered all the beads, images, croſſes, and relics, which the Catholics made uſe of, to be thrown into the fire.

The anger of God was now ready to fall upon his head for theſe daring and complicated crimes. The emperor had already confiſcated all his goods, and given the government of the kingdom of Tigre to Keba Chriſtos, a good Catholic, who was ſent with a numerous army to take poſſeſſion of it. As both armies were in ſearch of each other, it was not long before they came to a battle. The revolted viceroy, Tecla Georgis, placed all his confidence in the Galles, his auxiliaries. Keba Chriſtos, who had marched with incredible expedition to hinder the enemy from making any entrenchments, would willingly have refreſhed his men a few days before the battle, but finding the foe vigilant, thought it not proper to ſtay till he was attacked, and therefore reſolved to make the firſt onſet. Then preſenting himſelf before his army without arms, and with his head uncovered, aſſured them that ſuch was his confidence in God's protection of thoſe that engaged in ſo juſt a cauſe, that though he were in that condition, and alone, he would attack his enemies.

The battle began immediately, and of all the troops of Tecla Georgis, only the Galles made any reſiſtance; the reſt abandoned him without ſtriking a blow. The unhappy commander ſeeing all his ſquadrons broken, and three hundred of the Galles with twelve eccleſiaſtics killed on the ſpot, hid himſelf in a cave, where he was found three days afterwards, with his favourite and a Monk. When they took him, they cut off the heads of his two companions in the field, and carried him to the emperor. The procedure againſt him was not long, and he was con-

demned to be burnt alive. Then imagining, that if he embraced the Catholic faith, the interceſſion of the miſſionaries, with the entreaties of his wife and children, might procure him a pardon, he deſired a Jeſuit to hear his confeſſion, and abjured his errors. The emperor was inflexible both to the entreaties of his daughter and the tears of his grand-children; and all that could be obtained of him was, that the ſentence ſhould be mollified, and changed into a condemnation to be hanged. Tecla Georgis renounced his abjuration, and at his death perſiſted in his errors. Adero his ſiſter, who had borne the greateſt ſhare in his revolt, was hanged on the ſame tree fifteen days after.

I arrived not long after at the emperor's court, and had the honour of kiſſing his hands, but ſtaid not long in a place where no miſſionary ought to linger, unleſs obliged by the moſt preſſing neceſſity; but being ordered by my ſuperiors into the kingdom of Damot, I ſet out on my journey; and on the road was in great danger of loſing my life by my curioſity of taſting an herb which I found near a brook; and which, though I had often heard of it, I did not know. It bears a great reſemblance to our radiſhes, the leaf and colour were beautiful, and the taſte not unpleaſant. It came into my mind when I began to chew it, that perhaps it might be that venemous herb againſt which no antidote hath yet been found; but perſuading myſelf afterwards that my fears were merely chimerical, I continued to chew it, till a man accidentally meeting me, and ſeeing me with a handful of it, cried out to me that I was poiſoned. I had happily not ſwallowed any of it, and throwing out what I had in my mouth, I returned God thanks for this inſtance of his protection.

I croſſed the Nile the firſt time in my journey to the kingdom

kingdom of Damot. My paſſage brought into my mind all that I had read either in ancient or modern writers of this celebrated river. I recollected the great expences at which ſome emperors had endeavoured to gratify their curioſity of knowing the ſources of this mighty ſtream, which nothing but their little acquaintance with the Abyſſins made ſo difficult to be found. I paſſed the river, within two days journey of its head, near a wide plain, which is entirely laid under water when it begins to overflow the banks. Its channel is even here ſo wide, that a ball ſhot from a muſket can ſcarce reach the farther bank. Here is neither boat nor bridge; and the river is ſo full of hippopotames, or river-horſes, and crocodiles, that it is impoſſible to ſwim over without danger of being devoured. The only way of paſſing it is upon flotes, which they guide as well as they can with long poles. Nor is even this way without danger; for theſe deſtructive animals overturn the flotes, and tear the paſſengers in pieces. The river-horſe, which lives only on graſs and branches of trees, is ſatisfied with killing the men; but the crocodile, being more voracious, feeds upon the carcaſſes.

But ſince I am arrived at the banks of this renowned river, which I have paſſed and repaſſed ſo many times; and ſince all that I have read of the nature of its waters, and the cauſes of its overflowing, is full of fables, the reader may not be diſpleaſed to find here an account of what I ſaw myſelf, or was told by the inhabitants.

CHAP. X.

A deſcription of the Nile.

THE Nile, which the natives call Abavi, that is the father of waters, riſes firſt in Sacala, a province of the kingdom of Goiama, which is one of the moſt fruitful and agreeable of all the Abyſſinian dominions. This province is inhabited by a nation of the Agaus, who call themſelves Chriſtians, but by daily intermarriages they have allied themſelves to the Pagan Agaus, and adopted all their cuſtoms and ceremonies. Theſe two nations are very numerous, fierce, and unconquerable, inhabiting a country full of mountains, which are covered with woods, and hollowed by Nature into vaſt caverns, many of which are capable of containing ſeveral numerous families, and hundreds of cows. To theſe receſſes the Agaus betake themſelves when they are driven out of the plain, where it is almoſt impoſſible to find them, and certain ruin to purſue them. This people increaſes extremely, every man being allowed ſo many wives as he hath hundreds of cows; and it is ſeldom that the hundreds are required to be complete.

In the eaſtern part of this kingdom, on the declivity of a mountain, whoſe deſcent is ſo eaſy that it ſeems a beautiful plain, is that ſource of the Nile which has been ſought after at ſo much expence of labour, and about which ſuch variety of conjectures hath been formed without ſucceſs. This ſpring, or rather theſe two ſprings, are two holes, each about two feet diameter, a ſtone's-caſt diſtant from each other. The one is but about five feet and an half in depth, at leaſt we could not get our plummet farther,

farther, perhaps becauſe it was ſtopped by roots, for the whole place is full of trees. Of the other, which is ſomewhat leſs, with a line of ten feet we could find no bottom, and were aſſured by the inhabitants that none ever had been found. It is believed here that theſe ſprings are the vents of a great ſubterraneous lake; and they have this circumſtance to favour their opinion, that the ground is always moiſt, and ſo ſoft that the water boils up under foot as one walks upon it: this is more viſible after rains, for then the ground yields and ſinks ſo much, that I believe it is chiefly ſupported by the roots of trees that are interwoven one with another. Such is the ground round about theſe fountains. At a little diſtance to the ſouth is a village named Guix, through which the way lies to the top of the mountain, from whence the traveller diſcovers a vaſt extent of land, which appears like a deep valley, though the mountain riſes ſo imperceptibly, that thoſe who go up or down it are ſcarce ſenſible of any declivity.

On the top of this mountain is a little hill which the idolatrous Agaus have in great veneration. Their prieſt calls them together at this place once a year; and having ſacrificed a cow, throws the head into one of the ſprings of the Nile; after which ceremony, every one ſacrifices a cow or more according to their different degrees of wealth or devotion. The bones of theſe cows have already formed two mountains of conſiderable height, which afford a ſufficient proof that theſe nations have always paid their adorations to this famous river. They eat theſe ſacrifices with great devotion, as fleſh conſecrated to their deity. Then the prieſt anoints himſelf with the greaſe and tallow of the cows, and ſits down on an heap of ſtraw on the top and in the middle of a pile which is prepared. They ſet fire to it, and the whole heap is con-

ſumed without any injury to the prieſt; who, while the fire continues, harangues the ſtanders by, and confirms them in their preſent ignorance and ſuperſtition. When the pile is burnt, and the diſcourſe at an end, every one makes a large preſent to the prieſt, which is the grand deſign of this religious mockery.

To return to the courſe of the Nile. Its waters, after the firſt riſe, run to the eaſtward for about a muſket-ſhot; then turning to the north, continue hidden in the graſs and weeds for about a quarter of a league, and diſcover themſelves for the firſt time among ſome rocks; a ſight not to be enjoyed without ſome pleaſure by thoſe who have read the fabulous accounts of this ſtream delivered by the ancients, and the vain conjectures and reaſonings which have been formed upon its original, the nature of its water, its cataracts, and its inundations, all which we are now entirely acquainted with, and eye-witneſſes of.

Many interpreters of the holy Scriptures pretend, that Gihon, mentioned in Geneſis, is no other than the Nile, which encompaſſeth all Ethiopia; but as the Gihon had its ſource from the terreſtrial Paradiſe, and we know that the Nile riſes in the country of the Agaus, it will be found, I believe, no ſmall difficulty to conceive how the ſame river could ariſe from two ſources ſo diſtant from each other; or how a river, from ſo low a ſource, ſhould ſpring up and appear in a place perhaps the higheſt in the world: for if we conſider, that Arabia and Paleſtine are in their ſituation almoſt level with Egypt; that Egypt is as low, if compared with the kingdom of Dambia, as the deepeſt valley in regard of the higheſt mountain; that the province of Sacala is yet more elevated than Dambia; that the waters of the Nile muſt either paſs under the Red ſea, or take a great compaſs about, we ſhall find it hard to conceive ſuch an attractive power in the

the earth as may be able to make the waters riſe through the obſtruction of ſo much ſand, from places ſo low, to the moſt lofty region of Ethiopia.

But leaving theſe difficulties, let us go on to deſcribe the courſe of the Nile. It rolls away from its ſource with ſo inconſiderable a current, that it appears unlikely to eſcape being dried up by the hot ſeaſon, but ſoon receiving an increaſe from the Gemma, the Keltu, the Branſu, and other leſs rivers, it is of ſuch a breadth in the plain of Boad, which is not above three days journey from its ſource, that a ball ſhot from a muſket will ſcarce fly from one bank to the other. Here it begins to run northwards, deflecting, however, a little towards the eaſt, for the ſpace of nine or ten leagues; and then enters the ſo much talked of lake of Dambia, called by the natives Barhar Sena, the reſemblance of the ſea; or Bahar Dambia, the ſea of Dambia. It croſſes this lake only at one end, with ſo violent a rapidity, that the waters of the Nile may be diſtinguiſhed through all the paſſage, which is ſix leagues. Here begins the greatneſs of the Nile. Fifteen miles farther, in the land of Alata, it ruſhes precipitately from the top of a high rock, and forms one of the moſt beautiful water-falls in the world. I paſſed under it without being wet, and reſting myſelf there for the ſake of the coolneſs, was charmed with a thouſand delightful rainbows which the ſun beams painted on the water in all their ſhining and lively colours. The fall of this mighty ſtream, from ſo great an height, makes a noiſe that may be heard to a conſiderable diſtance; but I could not obſerve that the neighbouring inhabitants were at all deaf. I converſed with ſeveral, and was as eaſily heard by them, as I heard them. The miſt, that riſes from this fall of water, may be ſeen much farther than the noiſe can be heard. After this cataract, the Nile again collects its

ſcattered

ſcattered ſtream among the rocks, which ſeem to be diſjoined in this place only to afford it a paſſage. They are ſo near each other, that, in my time, a bridge of beams, on which the whole Imperial army paſſed, was laid over them. Sultan Segued hath ſince built here a bridge of one arch in the ſame place, for which purpoſe he procured maſons from India. This bridge, which is the firſt the Abyſſins have ſeen on the Nile, very much facilitates a communication between the provinces, and encourages commerce among the inhabitants of his empire.

Here the river alters its courſe, and paſſes through many various kingdoms. On the eaſt it leaves Begmeder, or the land of ſheep, ſo called from great numbers that are bred there; Beg, in that language, ſignifying ſheep, and Meder a country. It then waters the kingdoms of Amhara, Olaca, Choaa, and Damot, which lie on the left ſide, and the kingdom of Goiama, which it bounds on the right; forming by its windings a kind of peninſula. Then entering Bezamo, a province of the kingdom of Damot, and Gamarcauſa, part of Goiama, it returns within a ſhort days journey of its ſpring; though to purſue it through all its mazes, and accompany it round the kingdom of Goiama, is a journey of twenty-nine days. So far, and a few days journey farther, this river confines itſelf to Abyſſinia, and then paſſes into the bordering countries of Fazulo and Ombarca.

Theſe vaſt regions we have little knowledge of. They are inhabited by nations entirely different from the Abyſſins; their hair is like that of the other blacks, ſhort and curled. In the year 1615, Raſſela Chriſtos, lieutenant-general to Sultan Segued, entered thoſe kingdoms with his army in an hoſtile manner; but being able to get no intelligence of the condition of the people, and aſtoniſhed

aſtoniſhed at their unbounded extent, he returned without daring to attempt any thing.

As the empire of the Abyſſins terminates at theſe deſarts, and as I have followed the courſe of the Nile no farther, I here leave it to range over barbarous kingdoms, and convey wealth and plenty into Egypt, which owes to the annual inundations of this river its envied fertility. I know not any thing of the reſt of its paſſage, but that it receives great increaſes from many other rivers; that it has ſeveral cataracts, like the firſt already deſcribed, and that few fiſh are to be found in it; which ſcarcity, doubtleſs, is to be attributed to the river-horſes, and crocodiles, which deſtroy the weaker inhabitants of theſe waters, and ſomething may be allowed to the cataracts, it being difficult for fiſh to fall ſo far without being killed.

Although ſome who have travelled in Aſia and Africa have given the world their deſcriptions of the crocodile, and hippopotamus, or river-horſe; yet, as the Nile has at leaſt as great numbers of each as any river in the world, I cannot but think my account of it would be imperfect, without ſome particular mention of theſe animals.

The crocodile is very ugly, having no proportion between his length and thickneſs. He hath ſhort feet, a wide mouth, with two rows of ſharp teeth ſtanding wide from each other; a brown ſkin, ſo fortified with ſcales, even to his noſe, that a muſket-ball cannot penetrate it. His ſight is extremely quick, and at a great diſtance. In the water he is daring and fierce, and will ſeize on any that are ſo unfortunate as is to be found by him bathing; who, if they eſcape with life, are almoſt ſure to leave ſome limb in his mouth. Neither I, nor any with whom I have converſed about the crocodile, have ever ſeen him weep;

weep; and therefore, I take the liberty of ranking all that hath been told us of his tears amongſt the fables which are only proper to amuſe children.

The hippopotamus, or river-horſe, grazes upon the land, and brouzes on the ſhrubs, yet is no leſs dangerous than the crocodile. He is the ſize of an ox, of a brown colour, without any hair. His tail is ſhort, his neck long, and his head of an enormous bigneſs; his eyes are ſmall, his mouth wide, with teeth half a foot long; he hath two tuſks like thoſe of a wild boar, but larger; his legs are ſhort, and his feet part into four toes. It is eaſy to obſerve from this deſcription, that he hath no reſemblance of an horſe; and indeed nothing could give occaſion to the name, but ſome likeneſs in his ears, and his neighing and ſnorting like an horſe when he is provoked, or raiſes his head out of water. His hide is ſo hard, that a muſket fired cloſe to him can only make a ſlight impreſſion; and the beſt tempered lances puſhed forcibly againſt him are either blunted or ſhivered; unleſs the aſſailant has the ſkill to make his thruſt at certain parts which are more tender. There is great danger in meeting him; and the beſt way is, upon ſuch an accident, to ſtep aſide, and let him paſs by. The fleſh of this animal doth not differ from that of a cow, except that it is blacker and harder to digeſt.

The ignorance which we have hitherto been in of the original of the Nile, hath given many authors an opportunity of preſenting us very gravely with their various ſyſtems and conjectures about the nature of its waters, and the reaſon of its overflows.

It is eaſy to obſerve how many empty hypotheſis and idle reaſonings the phænomenons of this river have put mankind to the expence of. Yet there are people ſo bigotted to antiquity, as not to pay any regard to the relation

relation of travellers who have been upon the ſpot, and by the evidence of their eyes can confute all that the ancients may have written. It was difficult, it was even impoſſible, to arrive at the ſource of the Nile, by tracing its channel from the mouth; and all whoever attempted it, having been ſtopped by the cataracts, and imagining none that followed them could paſs farther, have taken the liberty of entertaining us with their own fictions.

It is to be remembered likewiſe, that neither the Greeks nor Romans, from whom we have received all our information, ever carried their arms into this part of the world, or ever heard of multitudes of nations that dwell upon the banks of this vaſt river; that the countries where the Nile riſes, and thoſe through which it runs, have no inhabitants but what are ſavage and uncivilized; that before they could arrive at its head, they muſt ſurmount the inſuperable obſtacles of impaſſable foreſts, inacceſſible cliffs, and deſarts crowded with beaſts of prey, fierce by nature, and raging for want of ſuſtenance. Yet if they who endeavoured with ſo much ardour to diſcover the ſpring of this river, had landed at Mazua on the coaſt of the Red ſea, and marched a little more to the ſouth than the ſouth weſt, they might perhaps have gratified their curioſity at leſs expence; and in about twenty days might enjoyed the deſired ſight of the ſources of the Nile.

But this diſcovery was reſerved for the invincible bravery of our noble countrymen; who, not diſcouraged by the dangers of a navigation in ſeas never explored before, have ſubdued kingdoms and empires, where the Greek and Roman greatneſs, where the names of Cæſar and Alexander were never heard of; who firſt ſteered an European ſhip into the Red ſea, through the gulf of Arabia and the Indian ocean; who have demoliſhed the airy fabrics

brics of renowned hypotheſis, and detected thoſe fables which the ancients rather choſe to invent of the ſources of the Nile, than to confeſs their ignorance. I cannot help ſuſpending my narration, to reflect a little on the ridiculous ſpeculations of thoſe ſwelling philoſophers, whoſe arrogance would preſcribe laws to nature, and ſubject thoſe aſtoniſhing effects which we behold daily, to their idle reaſonings and chimerical rules. Preſumptuous imagination! that has given being to ſuch numbers of books, and patrons to ſo many various opinions about the overflows of the Nile. Some of theſe theoriſts have been pleaſed to declare it as their favourite notion, that this inundation is cauſed by high winds which ſtop the current, and ſo force the water to riſe above its banks, and ſpread over all Egypt. Others pretend a ſubterraneous communication between the ocean and the Nile, and that the ſea, being violently agitated, ſwells the river. Many have imagined themſelves bleſſed with the diſcovery, when they have told us, that this mighty flood proceeds from the melting of ſnow on the mountains of Ethiopia, without reflecting, that this opinion is contrary to the received notion of all the ancients, who believed that the heat was ſo exceſſive between the tropics, that no inhabitant could live there. So much ſnow and ſo great heat are never met with in the ſame region. And indeed I never ſaw ſnow in Abyſſinia, except on mount Semen in the kingdom of Tigre, very remote from the Nile; and on Namera, which is indeed not far diſtant, but where there never falls ſnow ſufficient to wet the foot of the mountain when it is melted.

To the immenſe labours and fatigues of the Portugueſe, mankind is indebted for the knowledge of the real cauſe of theſe inundations, ſo great and ſo regular. Their obſervations inform us, that Abyſſinia, where the Nile riſes,

ſes, and waters vaſt tracts of land, is full of mountains; and in its natural ſituation much higher than Egypt; that all the winter, from June to September, no day is without rain; that the Nile receives in its courſe all the rivers, brooks, and torrents which fall from thoſe mountains; theſe neceſſarily ſwell it above the banks, and fill the plains of Egypt with the inundation. This comes regularly about the month of July, or three weeks after the beginning of a rainy ſeaſon in Ethiopia. The different degrees of this flood are ſuch certain indications of the fruitfulneſs or ſterility of the enſuing year, that it is publicly proclaimed in Cairo how much the water hath gained each night. This is all I have to inform the reader of concerning the Nile, which the Egyptians adored as the Deity, in whoſe choice it was to bleſs them with abundance, or deprive them of the neceſſaries of life.

CHAP. XI.

The Author diſcovers a paſſage over the Nile. Is ſent into the province of Ligonous, which he gives a deſcription of. His ſucceſs in his miſſion. The ſtratagem of the Monks to encourage the ſoldiers. The Author narrowly eſcapes being burned.

WHEN I was to croſs this river at Boad, I durſt not venture myſelf on the flotes I have already ſpoken of, but went up higher, in hopes of finding a more commodious paſſage. I had with me three or four men that were reduced to the ſame difficulty with myſelf. In one part, ſeeing people on the other ſide, and remarking, that

that the water was ſhallow, and that the rocks and trees, which grew very thick there, contributed to facilitate the attempt, I leaped from one rock to another, till I reached the oppoſite bank, to the great amazement of the natives themſelves, who never had tried that way. My four companions followed me with the ſame ſucceſs; and it hath been called ſince, the paſſage of father Jerome.

That province of the kingdom of Damot which I was aſſigned to by my ſuperior, is called Ligonous, and is perhaps one of the moſt beautiful and agreeable places in the world. The air is healthful and temperate, and all the mountains, which are not very high, ſhaded with cedars. They ſow and reap here in every ſeaſon; the ground is always producing, and the fruits ripen throughout the year. So great, ſo charming is the variety, that the whole region ſeems a garden, laid out and cultivated only to pleaſe. I doubt whether even the imagination of a painter has yet conceived a landſcape as beautiful as I have ſeen. The foreſts have nothing uncouth or ſavage, and ſeem only planted for ſhade and coolneſs. Among a prodigious number of trees which fill them, there is one kind which I have ſeen in no other place, and to which we have none that bears any reſemblance. This tree, which the natives call Enſeté, is wonderfully uſeful; its leaves, which are ſo large as to cover a man, make hangings for rooms, and ſerve the inhabitants inſtead of linen for their tables and carpets. They grind the branches and the thick parts of the leaves; and when they are mingled with milk find them a delicious food. The trunk and the roots are even more nouriſhing than the leaves or branches; and the meaner people, when they go a journey, make no proviſion of any other victuals. The word Enſeté, ſignifies the tree againſt hunger, or the poor's tree; though the moſt wealthy often

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eat of it. If it be cut down within half a-foot of the ground, and ſeveral inciſions made in the ſtump, each will put out a new ſprout, which, if tranſplanted, will take root, and grow to a tree. The Abyſſins report, that this tree, when it is cut down, groans like a man; and on this account call cutting down an Enſeté, killing it. On the top grows a bunch of five or ſix figs, of a taſte not very agreeable, which they ſet in the ground to produce more trees.

I ſtaid two months in the province of Lingonous; and during that time procured a church to be built of hewn ſtone, roofed and wainſcoted with cedar, which is the moſt conſiderable in the whole country. My continual employment was the duties of the miſſion, which I was always practiſing in ſome part of the province, not indeed with any extraordinary ſucceſs at firſt, for I found the people inflexibly obſtinate in their opinions, even to ſo great a degree, that when I firſt publiſhed the emperor's edict, requiring all his ſubjects to renounce their errors, and unite themſelves to the Roman church, there were ſome Monks, who, to the number of ſixty, choſe rather to die, by throwing themſelves headlong from a precipice, than obey their ſovereign's commands: and in a battle fought between theſe people that adhered to the religion of their anceſtors and the troops of Sultan Segued, ſix hundred religious, placing themſelves on the head of their men, marched towards the Catholic army with the ſtones of the altars upon their heads, aſſuring their credulous followers, that the emperor's troops would immediately, at the ſight of thoſe ſtones, fall into diſorder, and turn their backs; but, as they were ſome of the firſt that fell, their death had a great influence upon the people to undeceive them, and make them return to the truth. Many were converted after the battle; and when

they had embraced the Catholic faith, adhered to that with the ſame conſtancy and firmneſs with which they had before perſiſted in their errors.

The emperor had ſent a viceroy into this province, whoſe firm attachment to the Roman church, as well as great abilities in military affairs, made him a perſon very capable of executing the orders of the emperor, and of ſuppreſſing any inſurrection that might be raiſed to prevent thoſe alterations in religion which they were deſigned to promote. A farther view in the choice of ſo warlike a deputy was, that a ſtop might be put to the inroads of the Galles, who had killed one viceroy, and in a little time after killed this.

It was our cuſtom to meet together every year about Chriſtmas, not only that we might comfort and entertain each other, but likewiſe that we might relate the progreſs and ſucceſs of our miſſions, and concert all meaſures that might further the converſion of the inhabitants. This year our place of meeting was the emperor's camp, where the patriarch and ſuperior of the miſſions were. I left the place of my abode, and took in my way four fathers that reſided at the diſtance of two days journey, ſo that the company, without reckoning our attendants, was five. There happened nothing remarkable to us till the laſt night of our journey, when, taking up our lodging at a place belonging to the empreſs, a declared enemy to all Catholics, and in particular to the miſſionaries, we met with a kind reception in appearance, and were lodged in a large ſtone houſe, covered with wood and ſtraw, which had ſtood uninhabited ſo long, that great numbers of red ants had taken poſſeſſion of it; theſe, as ſoon as we were laid down, attacked us on all ſides, and tormented us ſo inceſſantly, that we were obliged to call up our domeſtics. Having burnt a prodigious number

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of theſe troubleſome animals, we tried to compoſe ourſelves again, but had ſcarce cloſed our eyes before we were awaked by the fire that had ſeized our lodging. Our ſervants, who were fortunately not all gone to bed, perceived the fire as ſoon as it began, and informed me who lay neareſt the door. I immediately alarmed all the reſt, and nothing was thought of but how to ſave ourſelves; and the little goods we had, when, to our great aſtoniſhment, we found one of the doors barricaded in ſuch a manner that we could not open it. Nothing now could have prevented our periſhing in the flames, had not thoſe who kindled them omitted to faſten that door near which I was lodged. We were no longer in doubt that the inhabitants of the town had laid a train, and ſet fire to a neighbouring houſe, in order to conſume us. Their meaſures were ſo well laid, that the houſe was in aſhes in an inſtant, and three of our beds were burnt, which the violence of the flame would not allow us to carry away. We ſpent the reſt of the night in the moſt diſmal apprehenſions, and found next morning that we had juſtly charged the inhabitants with the deſign of deſtroying us; for the place was entirely abandoned, and thoſe that were conſcious of the crime had fled from the puniſhment. We continued our journey, and came to Gorgora, where we found the fathers met, and the emperor with them.

CHAP. XII.

The Author is ſent into Tigre. Is in danger of being poiſoned by the breath of a ſerpent. Is ſtung by a ſerpent. Is almoſt killed by eating anchoy. The people conſpire againſt the miſſionaries, and diſtreſs them.

MY ſuperiors intended to ſend me into the fartheſt parts of the empire, but the emperor over-ruled that deſign, and remanded me to Tigre, where I had reſided before. I paſſed in my journey by Ganete Ilhos, a palace newly built, and made agreeable by beautiful gardens; and had the honour of paying my reſpects to the emperor, who had retired thither, and receiving from him a large preſent for the finiſhing of an hoſpital, which had been begun in the kingdom of Tigre. After having returned him thanks, I continued my way; and in croſſing a deſart, two days journey over, was in great danger of my life; for, as I lay on the ground, I perceived myſelf ſeized with a pain which forced me to riſe, and ſaw, about four yards from me, one of thoſe ſerpents that dart their poiſon at a diſtance. Although I roſe before he came very near me, I yet felt the effects of his poiſonous breath; and, if I had lain a little longer, had certainly died. I had recourſe to bezoar, a ſovereign remedy againſt theſe poiſons, which I always carried about me. Theſe ſerpents are not long, but have a body ſhort and thick, and their bellies ſpeckled with brown, black, and yellow. They have a wide mouth, with which they draw in a great quantity of air, and having retained it ſome time, eject it with ſuch force that they kill at four yards diſtance. I only eſcaped by being ſomewhat farther from

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him. This danger, however, was not much to be regarded in compariſon of another which my negligence brought me into. As I was picking up a ſkin that lay upon the ground, I was ſtung by a ſerpent that left his ſting in my finger. I at laſt picked an extraneous ſubſtance, about the bigneſs of an hair, out of the wound, which I imagined was the ſting. This ſlight wound I took little notice of, till my arm grew inflamed all over. In a ſhort time the poiſon infected my blood, and I felt the moſt terrible convulſions, which were interpreted as certain ſigns that my death was near and inevitable. I received now no benefit from bezoar, the horn of the unicorn, or any of the uſual antidotes; but found myſelf obliged to make uſe of an extraordinary remedy, which I ſubmitted to with extreme reluctance. This ſubmiſſion and obedience brought the bleſſing of Heaven upon me. Nevertheleſs I continued indiſpoſed a long time, and had many ſymptoms which made me fear that all the danger was not yet over. I then took cloves of garlic, though with a great averſion both from the taſte and ſmell. I was in this condition a whole month, always in pain, and taking medicines the moſt nauſeous in the world. At length youth and an happy conſtitution ſurmounted the malignity, and I recovered my former health.

I continued two years at my reſidence in Tigre, entirely taken up with the duties of the miſſion, preaching, confeſſing, baptiſing, and enjoyed a longer quiet and repoſe than I had ever done ſince I left Portugal. During this time one of our fathers, being always ſick, and of a conſtitution which the air of Abyſſinia was very hurtful to, obtained a permiſſion from our ſuperiors to return to the Indies. I was willing to accompany him through part of his way, and went with him over a deſart, at no great diſtance from my reſidence, where I found many

trees loaded with a kind of fruit, called by the natives Anchoy, about the bigneſs of an apricot, and very yellow, which is much eaten without any ill effect. I therefore made no ſcruple of gathering and eating it, without knowing that the inhabitants always peeled it, the rind being a violent purgative; ſo that, eating the fruit and ſkin together, I fell into ſuch a diſorder as almoſt brought me to my end. The ordinary doſe is ſix of theſe rinds, and I had devoured twenty.

I removed from thence to Debaroa, fifty-four miles nearer the ſea, and croſſed in my way the deſart of the province of Saraoe. The country is fruitful, pleaſant, and populous. There are greater numbers of Moors in theſe parts than in any other province of Abyſſinia; and the Abyſſins of this country are not much better than the Moors.

I was at Debaroa when the perſecution was firſt ſet on foot againſt the Catholics. Sultan Segued, who had been ſo great a favourer of us, was grown old, and his ſpirit and authority decreaſed with his ſtrength. His ſon, who was arrived at manhood, being weary of waiting ſo long for the crown he was to inherit, took occaſion to blame his father's conduct, and found ſome reaſon for cenſuring all his actions; he even proceeded ſo far as to give orders ſometimes contrary to the emperor's. He had embraced the Catholic religion, rather through complaiſance than conviction or inclination; and many of the Abyſſins, who had done the ſame, waited only for an opportunity of making public profeſſion of the ancient erroneous opinions, and of re-uniting themſelves to the church of Alexandria. So artfully can this people diſſemble their ſentiments, that we had not been able hitherto to diſtinguiſh our real from our pretended favourers; but as ſoon as this prince began to give evident to-

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kens of his hatred, even in the life-time of the emperor, we ſaw all the courtiers and governors, who had treated us with ſuch a ſhew of friendſhip, declare againſt us, and perſecute us as diſturbers of the public tranquillity; who had come into Ethiopia with no other intention than to aboliſh the ancient laws and cuſtoms of the country, to ſow diviſions between father and ſon, and preach up a revolution.

After having borne all ſorts of affronts and ill-treatments, we retired to our houſe at Fremona, in the midſt of our countrymen, who had been ſettling round about us a long time, imagining we ſhould be more ſecure there, and that, at leaſt during the life of the emperor, they would not come to extremities, or proceed to open force. I laid ſome ſtreſs upon the kindneſs which the viceroy of Tigre had ſhown to us, and in particular to me; but was ſoon convinced that thoſe hopes had no real foundation, for he was one of the moſt violent of our perſecutors. He ſeized upon all our lands, and advancing with his troops to Fremona, blocked up the town. The army had not been ſtationed there long before they committed all ſorts of diſorders; ſo that one day a Portugueſe, provoked beyond his temper at the inſolence of ſome of them, went out with his four ſons, and wounding ſeveral of them, forced the reſt back to their camp.

We thought we had good reaſon to apprehend an attack; their troops were increaſing, our town was ſurrounded, and on the point of being forced. Our Portugueſe therefore thought, that without ſtaying till the laſt extremities, they might lawfully repel one violence by another; and ſallying out, to the number of fifty, wounded about threeſcore of the Abyſſins, and had put them to the ſword, but that they feared it might bring too great

an odium upon our cauſe. The Portugueſe were ſome of them wounded, but happily none died on either ſide.

Though the times were by no means favourable to us, every one blamed the conduct of the viceroy; and thoſe who did not commend our action, made the neceſſity we were reduced to of ſelf-defence an excuſe for it. The viceroy's principal deſign was to get my perſon into his poſſeſſion, imagining, that if I was once in his power, all the Portugueſe would pay him a blind obedience. Having been unſucceſsful in his attempt by open force, he made uſe of the arts of negociation, but with an event not more to his ſatisfaction. This viceroy being recalled, a ſon-in-law of the emperor's ſucceeded, who treated us even worſe than his predeceſſor had done.

When he entered upon his command, he loaded us with kindneſſes, giving us ſo many aſſurances of his protection, that, while the emperor lived, we thought him one of our friends; but no ſooner was our protector dead, than this man pulled off his maſk; and quitting all ſhame, let us ſee that neither the fear of God nor any other conſideration was capable of reſtraining him, when we were to be diſtreſſed. The perſecution then becoming general, there was no longer any place of ſecurity for us in Abyſſinia; where we were looked upon by all as the authors of all the civil commotions; and many councils were held to determine in what manner they ſhould diſpoſe of us. Several were of opinion, that the beſt way would be to kill us all at once; and affirmed, that no other means were left of re-eſtabliſhing order and tranquillity in the kingdom.

Others, more prudent, were not for putting us to death with ſo little conſideration; but adviſed, that we ſhould be baniſhed to one of the iſles of the lake of Dambia, an affliction more ſevere than death itſelf. Theſe alledged,

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in vindication of their opinions, that it was reaſonable to expect, if they put us to death, that the viceroy of the Indies would come with fire and ſword to demand ſatisfaction. This argument made ſo great an impreſſion upon ſome of them, that they thought no better meaſures could be taken than to ſend us back again to the Indies. This propoſal, however, was not without its difficulties; for they ſuſpected, that when we ſhould arrive at the Portugueſe territories, we would levy an army, return back to Abyſſinia, and under pretence of eſtabliſhing the Catholic religion, revenge all the injuries we had ſuffered.

While they were thus deliberating upon our fate, we were imploring the ſuccour of the Almighty with fervent and humble ſupplications, intreating him, in the midſt of our ſighs and tears, that he would not ſuffer his own cauſe to miſcarry; and that however it might pleaſe him to diſpoſe of our lives, which we prayed he would aſſiſt us to lay down with patience and reſignation, worthy of the faith for which we were perſecuted, he would not permit our enemies to triumph over the truth.

Thus we paſſed our days and nights in prayers, in affliction and tears, continually crowded with widows and orphans that ſubſiſted upon our charity, and came to us for bread, when we had not any for ourſelves.

While we were in this diſtreſs, we received an account that the viceroy of the Indies had fitted out a powerful fleet againſt the king of Mombaza, who, having thrown off the authority of the Portugueſe, had killed the governor of the fortreſs, and had ſince committed many acts of cruelty. The ſame fleet, as we were informed, after the king of Mombaza was reduced, was to burn and ruin Zeila, in revenge of the death of two Portugueſe Jeſuits who were killed by the king in the year 1604.

1604. As Zeila was not far from the frontiers of Abyſſinia, they imagined that they already ſaw the Portugueſe invading their country.

The viceroy of Tigre had enquired of me, a few days before, how many men one India ſhip carried; and being told that the compliment of ſome was a thouſand men, he compared that anſwer with the report then ſpread over all the country, that there were eighteen Portugueſe veſſels on the coaſt of Adel; and concluded, that they were manned by an army of eighteen thouſand men. Then conſidering what had been atchieved by four hundred, under the command of Don Chriſtopher de Gama, he thought Abyſſinia already ravaged, or ſubjected to the king of Portugal. Many declared themſelves of his opinion, and the court took its meaſures with reſpect to us from theſe uncertain and ungrounded rumours. Some were ſo infatuated with their apprehenſions, that they undertook to deſcribe the camp of the Portugueſe, and affirmed that they had heard the report of their cannons.

All this contributed to exaſperate the inhabitants, and reduced us often to the point of being maſſacred. At length they came to a reſolution of giving us up to the Turks, aſſuring them that we were maſters of a vaſt treaſure; in hope, that after they had inflicted all kinds of tortures on us, to make us confeſs where we had hid our gold, or what we had done with it, they would at length kill us in rage for the diſappointment. Nor was this their only view, for they believed that the Turks would, by killing us, kindle ſuch an irreconcilable hatred between themſelves and our nation, as would make it neceſſary for them to keep us out of the Red ſea, of which they are entirely maſters: ſo that their determination was as politic as cruel. Some pretend, that the Turks were

were engaged to put us to death as ſoon as we were in their power.

CHAP. XIII.

The Author relieves the patriarch and miſſionaries, and ſupports them. He eſcapes ſeveral ſnares laid for him by the viceroy of Tigre. They put themſelves under the protection of the prince of Bar.

HAVING concluded this negociation, they drove us out of our houſes, and robbed us of every thing that was worth carrying away; and not content with that, informed ſome banditti that were then in thoſe parts of the road we were to travel through; ſo that the patriarch and ſome miſſionaries were attacked in a deſart by theſe rovers, with their captain at their head, who pillaged his library, his ornaments, and what little baggage the miſſionaries had left; and might have gone away without reſiſtance or interruption, had they ſatisfied themſelves with only robbing; but when they began to fall upon the miſſionaries and their companions, our countrymen, finding that their lives could only be preſerved by their courage, charged their enemies with ſuch vigour that they killed their chief, and forced the reſt to a precipitate flight. But theſe rovers, being acquainted with the country, haraſſed the little caravan till it was paſt the borders.

Our fathers then imagined they had nothing more to fear, but too ſoon were convinced of their error; for they found the whole country turned againſt them, and met every where new enemies to contend with, and new dangers

dangers to ſurmount. Being not far diſtant from Fremona, where I reſided, they ſent to me for ſuccour. I was better informed of the diſtreſs they were in than themſelves; having been told that a numerous body of Abyſſins had poſted themſelves in a narrow paſs, with an intent to ſurround and deſtroy them; therefore, without long deliberation, I aſſembled my friends, both Portugueſe and Abyſſins, to the number of fourſcore, and went to their reſcue, carrying with me proviſions and refreſhments, of which I knew they were in great need. Theſe glorious confeſſors I met as they were juſt entering the paſs deſigned for the place of their deſtruction, and doubly preſerved them from famine and the ſword. A grateful ſenſe of their deliverance made them receive me as a guardian angel. We went together to Fremona, and being in all, a patriarch, a biſhop, eighteen Jeſuits, and four hundred Portugueſe, whom I ſupplied with neceſſaries, though the revenues of our houſe were loſt, and though the country was diſaffected to us, in the worſt ſeaſon of the year. We were obliged, for the relief of the poor, and our own ſubſiſtence, to ſell our ornaments and chalices, which we firſt broke in pieces, that the people might not have the pleaſure of ridiculing our myſteries, by profaning the veſſels made uſe of in the celebration of them; for they now would gladly treat with the higheſt indignities what they had a year before looked upon with veneration.

Amidſt all theſe perplexities, the viceroy did not fail to viſit us, and make us great offers of ſervice, in expectation of a large preſent. We were in a ſituation in which it was very difficult to act properly. We knew too well the ill intentions of the viceroy, but durſt not complain, or give him any reaſon to imagine that we knew them. We longed to retreat out of his power, or at leaſt to ſend

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one of our company to the Indies, with an account of the perſecution we ſuffered, and could without his leave neither do one nor the other.

When it was determined that one ſhould be ſent to the Indies, I was at firſt ſingled out for the journey; and it was intended that I ſhould repreſent at Goa, at Rome, and at Madrid, the diſtreſſes and neceſſities of the miſſion of Ethiopia. But the fathers, reflecting afterwards that I beſt underſtood the Abyſſinian language, and was moſt acquainted with the cuſtoms of the country, altered their opinions; and continuing me in Ethiopia, either to periſh with them, or preſerve them, deputed four other Jeſuits, who, in a ſhort time, ſet out in their way to the Indies.

About this time I was ſent for to the viceroy's camp to confeſs a criminal, who, though falſely, was believed a Catholic; to whom, after a proper exhortation, I was going to pronounce the form of abſolution, when thoſe that waited to execute him told him aloud, that if he expected to ſave his life by profeſſing himſelf a Catholic, he would find himſelf deceived, and that he had nothing to do but prepare himſelf for death. The unhappy criminal had no ſooner heard this, than, riſing up, he declared his reſolution to die in the religion of his country; and being delivered up to his proſecutors, was immediately diſpatched with their lances.

The chief reaſon of calling me was not that I might hear this confeſſion, the viceroy had another deſign of ſeizing my perſon; expecting, that either the Jeſuits or Portugueſe would buy my liberty with a large ranſom, or that he might exchange me for his father, who was kept priſoner by a revolted prince. That prince would have been no loſer by the exchange, for ſo much was I hated by the Abyſſinian Monks, that they would have thought no expence too great to have gotten me into

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their hands, that they might have glutted their revenge by putting me to the moſt painful death they could have invented. Happily I found means to retire out of this dangerous place, and was followed by the viceroy almoſt to Fremona; who, being diſappointed, deſired me either to viſit him at his camp, or appoint a place where we might confer. I made many excuſes, but at length agreed to meet him at a place near Fremona, bringing each of us only three companions. I did not doubt but he would bring more, and ſo he did; but found that I was upon my guard, and that my company increaſed in proportion to his. My friends were reſolute Portugueſe, who were determined to give him no quarter, if he made any attempt upon my liberty. Finding himſelf once more countermined, he returned aſhamed to his camp; where, a month after, being accuſed of a confederacy in the revolt of that prince who kept his father priſoner, he was arreſted, and carried in chains to the emperor.

The time now approaching in which we were to be delivered to the Turks, we had none but God to apply to for relief, all the meaſures we could think of were equally dangerous. Reſolving, nevertheleſs, to ſeek ſome retreat, where we might hide ourſelves either altogether or ſeparately, we determined at laſt to put ourſelves under the protection of the prince John Akay, who had defended himſelf a long time in the province of Bar againſt the power of Abyſſinia.

After I had concluded a treaty with this prince, the patriarch and all the fathers put themſelves into his hands; and being received with all imaginable kindneſs and civility, were conducted with a guard to Adicota, a rock exceſſively ſteep, about nine miles from his place of reſidence. The event was not agreeable to the happy beginning of our negociation; for we ſoon began to find

find that our habitation was not likely to be very pleaſant. We were ſurrounded with Mahometans, or Chriſtians who were inveterate enemies to the Catholic faith, and were obliged to act with the utmoſt caution. Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniencies, we were pleaſed with the preſent tranquillity we enjoyed, and lived contentedly on lentils and a little corn that we had, and I, after we had ſold all our goods, reſolved to turn phyſician, and was ſoon able to ſupport myſelf by my practice.

I was once conſulted by a man troubled with an aſthma, who preſented me with two Alquieres, that is, about twenty-eight pound weight of corn, and a ſheep; the advice I gave him, after having turned over my books, was to drink goat's urine every morning. I know not whether he found any benefit by following my preſcription, for I never ſaw him after.

Being under a neceſſity of obeying our Acoba, or protector, we changed our place of abode as often as he deſired it, though not without great inconveniencies from the exceſſive heat of the weather, and the faintneſs which our ſtrict obſervation of the faſts and auſterities of lent, as it is kept in this country, had brought upon us. At length wearied with removing ſo often, and finding that the laſt place aſſigned for our abode was always the worſt, we agreed that I ſhould go to our ſovereign and complain.

I found him entirely taken up with the imagination of a prodigious treaſure, affirmed by the Monks to be hidden under a mountain. He was told, that his predeceſſors had been hindered from diſcovering it by the dæmon that guarded it; but that the dæmon was now at a great diſtance from his charge, and was grown blind and lame; that having loſt his ſon, and being without any children, except a daughter that was ugly and unhealthy, he was under great affliction, and entirely neglected the care of his

his treaſure; that if he ſhould come, they could call one of their ancient brothers to their aſſiſtance, who, being a man of a moſt holy life, would be able to prevent his making any reſiſtance. To all theſe ſtories the prince liſtened with unthinking credulity. The Monks, encouraged by this, fell to the buſineſs, and brought a man above an hundred years old, whom, becauſe he could not ſupport himſelf on horſeback, they had tied on the beaſt, and covered him with black wool. He was followed by a black cow, deſigned for a ſacrifice to the dæmon of the place, and by ſome Monks that carried mead, beer, and parched corn, to complete the offering.

No ſooner were they arrived at the foot of the mountain than every one began to work. Bags were brought from all parts to convey away the millions which each imagined would be his ſhare. The Xumo, who ſuperintended the work, would not allow any to come near the labourers, but ſtood by, attended by the old Monk, who almoſt ſung himſelf to death. At length, having removed a vaſt quantity of earth and ſtones, they diſcovered ſome holes made by rats or moles; at ſight of which a ſhout of joy run through the whole troop. The cow was brought and ſacrificed immediately, and ſome pieces of fleſh were thrown into theſe holes. Animated now with aſſurance of ſucceſs they loſe no time, every one redoubles his endeavours, and the heat, though intolerable, was leſs powerful than the hopes they had conceived. At length, ſome not ſo patient as the reſt, were weary and deſiſted. The work now grew more difficult; they found nothing but rock, yet continued to toil on, till the prince, having loſt all temper, began to enquire with ſome paſſion when he ſhould have a ſight of this treaſure: and after having been ſome time amuſed with many promiſes

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by the Monks, was told that he had not faith enough to be favoured with the diſcovery.

All this I ſaw myſelf, and could not forbear endeavouring to convince our protector how much he was impoſed upon. He was not long before he was ſatisfied that he had been too credulous; for all thoſe that had ſo induſtriouſly ſearched after this imaginary wealth, within five hours, left the work in deſpair, and I continued almoſt alone with the prince.

Imagining no time more proper to make the propoſal I was ſent with than while his paſſion was ſtill hot againſt the Monks, I preſented him with two ounces of gold, and two plates of ſilver, with ſome other things of ſmall value; and was ſo ſucceſsful, that he gratified me in all my requeſts, and gave us leave to return to Adicora, where we were ſo fortunate to find our huts yet uninjured and entire.

About this time the fathers, who had ſtaid behind at Fremona, arrived with the new viceroy, and an officer fierce in the defence of his own religion, who had particular orders to deliver all the Jeſuits up to the Turks, except me, whom the emperor was reſolved to have in his own hands alive or dead. We had received ſome notice of this reſolution from our friends at court; and were likewiſe informed that the emperor, their maſter, had been perſuaded that my deſign was to procure aſſiſtance from the Indies, and that I ſhould certainly return at the head of an army. The patriarch's advice upon this emergency was, that I ſhould retire into the woods, and by ſome other road join the nine Jeſuits who were gone towards Mazua. I could think of no better expedient; and therefore went away, in the night between the 23d and 24th of April, with my comrade, an old man, very infirm and very timerous. We croſſed woods, ne-

ver croſſed, I believe, by any before. The darkneſs of the night, and the thickneſs of the ſhade, ſpread a kind of horror round us. Our gloomy journey was ſtill more incommoded by the brambles and thorns which tore our hands. Amidſt all theſe difficulties I applied myſelf to the Almighty, praying him to preſerve us from thoſe dangers which we endeavoured to avoid, and to deliver us from thoſe to which our flight expoſed us. Thus we travelled all night till eight next morning, without taking either reſt or food; then, imagining ourſelves ſecure, we made us ſome cakes of barley-meal and water, which we thought a feaſt.

We had a diſpute with our guides, who though they had bargained to conduct us for an ounce of gold, yet when they ſaw us ſo entangled in the intricacies of the wood, that we could not poſſibly get out without their direction, demanded ſeven ounces of gold, a mule, and a little tent which we had. After a long diſpute we were forced to come to their terms. We continued to travel all night, and to hide ourſelves in the woods all day; and here it was that we met the three hundred elephants I ſpoke of before. We made long marches, travelling without any halt, from four in the afternoon to eight in the morning.

Arriving at a valley where travellers ſeldom eſcape being plundered, we were obliged to double our pace; and were ſo happy as to paſs it without meeting with any misfortune, except that we heard a bird ſing on our left hand; a certain preſage among theſe people of ſome great calamity at hand. As there is no reaſoning them out of ſuperſtition, I knew no way of encouraging them to go forward, but what I had already made uſe of on the ſame occaſion; aſſuring them that I heard one at the ſame time on the right. They were, happily, ſo credulous as

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to take my word, and we went on till we came to a well, where we ſtaid a while to refreſh ourſelves. Setting out again in the evening, we paſſed ſo near a village where theſe robbers had retreated, that the dogs barked after us. Next morning we joined the fathers, who waited for us. After we had reſted ourſelves ſome time in that mountain, we reſolved to ſeparate and go two and two, to ſee for a more convenient place where we might hide ourſelves. We had not gone far before we were ſurrounded by a troop of robbers, with whom, by the intereſt of ſome of the natives who had joined themſelves to our caravan, we came to a compoſition, giving them part of our goods to permit us to carry away the reſt; and after this troubleſome adventure arrived at a place ſomething more commodious than that which we had quitted, where we met with bread, but of ſo pernicious a quality, that, after having eat it, we were intoxicated to ſo great a degree, that one of my friends ſeeing me ſo diſordered congratulated my good fortune of having met with ſuch good wine, and was ſurpriſed when I gave him an account of the whole affair. He then offered me ſome curdled milk, very ſour, with barley-meal, which we boiled, and thought it the beſt entertainment we had met with a long time.

CHAP. XIV.

They are betrayed into the hands of the Turks. Are detained a while at Mazua. Are threatened by the Baſſa of Suaquem. They agree for their ranſom, and are part of them diſmiſſed.

SOME time after, we received news that we ſhould prepare ourſelves to ſerve the Turks, a meſſage which filled us with ſurpriſe, it having never been known that one of theſe lords had ever abandoned any whom he had taken under his protection; and it is, on the contrary, one of the higheſt points of honour amongſt them, to riſk their fortunes and their lives in the defence of their dependants who have implored their protection. But neither law nor juſtice were of any advantage to us, and the cuſtoms of the country were doomed to be broken when they would have contributed to our ſecurity.

We were obliged to march in the extremity of the hot ſeaſon, and had certainly periſhed by the fatigue, had we not entered the woods which ſhaded us from the ſcorching ſun. The day before our arrival at the place where we were to be delivered to the Turks, we met with five elephants that purſued us; and if they could have come to us would have prevented the miſeries we afterwards endured, but God had decreed otherwiſe.

On the morrow we came to the banks of a river, where we found fourſcore Turks that waited for us armed with muſkets. They let us reſt a while, and then put us into the hands of our new maſters, who, ſetting us upon camels, conducted us to Mazua. Their commander, ſeeming to be touched with our misfortunes, treated

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us with much gentleneſs and humanity. He offered us coffee, which we drank, but with little reliſh. We came next day to Mazua in ſo wretched a condition, that we were not ſurpriſed at being hooted by the boys, but thought ourſelves well uſed that they threw no ſtones at us.

As ſoon as we were brought hither, all we had was taken from us, and we were carried to the governor, who is placed there by the Baſſa of Suaquem. Having been told by the Abyſſins that we had carried all the gold out of Ethiopia, they ſearched us with great exactneſs, but found nothing except two chalices, and ſome relics of ſo little value that we redeemed them for ſix ſequins. As I had given them my chalice upon their firſt demand, they did not ſearch me; but gave us to underſtand that they expected to find ſomething of greater value, which either we muſt have hidden, or the Abyſſins muſt have impoſed on them. They left us the reſt of the day at a gentleman's houſe who was our friend, from whence the next day they fetched us to tranſport us to the iſland, where they put us into a kind of priſon, with a view of terrifying us into a confeſſion of the place where we had hid our gold, in which, however, they found themſelves deceived.

But I had here another affair upon my hands which was near coſting me dear. My ſervant had been taken from me, and left at Mazua, to be ſold to the Arabs. Being advertiſed by him of the danger he was in, I laid claim to him, without knowing the difficulties which this way of proceeding would bring upon me. The governor ſent me word, that my ſervant ſhould be reſtored me upon the payment of ſixty piaſters. And being anſwered by me that I had not a penny for myſelf, and therefore could not pay ſixty piaſters to redeem my ſervant, he

informed me by a renogade Jew, who negociated the whole affair, that either I muſt produce the money or receive an hundred blows of the battoon. Knowing that thoſe orders are without appeal, and always punctually executed, I prepared myſelf to receive the correction I was threatened with; but unexpectedly found the people ſo charitable as to lend me the money. By ſeveral other threats of the ſame kind they drew from us about ſix hundred crowns.

On the 24th of June, we embarked in two gallies for Suaquem, where the Baſſa reſided. His brother, who was his deputy at Mazua, made us promiſe before we went, that we would not mention the money he had ſqueezed from us. The ſeaſon was not very proper for ſailing, and our proviſions were but ſhort. In a little time we began to feel the want of better ſtores, and thought ourſelves happy in meeting with a gelve, which, though ſmall, was a much better ſailer than our veſſel in which I was ſent to Suaquem to procure camels and proviſions. I was not much at my eaſe alone among ſix Mahometans, and could not help apprehending that ſome zealous pilgrim of Mecca might lay hold on this opportunity, in the heat of his devotion, of ſacrificing me to his prophet.

Theſe apprehenſions were without ground. I contracted an acquaintance, which was ſoon improved into a friendſhip, with theſe people. They offered me part of their proviſions, and I gave them ſome of mine. As we were in a place abounding with oyſters, ſome of which were large and good to eat, others more ſmooth and ſhining, in which pearls are found, they gave me ſome of thoſe they gathered. But whether it happened by trifling our time away in oyſter catching, or whether the wind was not favourable, we came to Suaquem later than the

the veſſel I had left, in which were ſeven of my companions.

As they had firſt landed, they had ſuffered the firſt tranſports of the Baſſa's paſſion, who was a violent tyrannical man, and would have killed his own brother for the leaſt advantage; a temper which made him fly into the utmoſt rage at ſeeing us poor, tattered, and almoſt naked. He treated us with the moſt opprobrious language, and threatened to cut off our heads. We comforted ourſelves in this condition, hoping that all our ſufferings would end in ſhedding our blood for the name of Jeſus Chriſt. We knew that the Baſſa had often made a public declaration before our arrival, that he ſhould die contented if he could have the pleaſure of killing us all with his own hand. This violent reſolution was not laſting; his zeal gave way to his avarice, and he could not think of loſing ſo large a ſum as he knew he might expect for our ranſom. He therefore ſent us word, that it was in our choice either to die or to pay him thirty thouſand crowns, and demanded to know our determination.

We knew that his ardent thirſt of our blood was now cold; that time and calm reflection, and the advice of his friends, had all conſpired to bring him to a milder temper; and therefore willingly began to treat with him. I told the meſſenger, being deputed by the reſt to manage the affair, that he could not but obſerve the wretched condition we were in; that we had neither money nor revenues; that what little we had was already taken from us; and that therefore all we could promiſe was to ſet a collection on foot; not much doubting but that our brethren would afford us ſuch aſſiſtance as might enable us to make him an handſome preſent, according to cuſtom.

This anſwer was not at all agreeable to the Baſſa, who returned an anſwer that he would be ſatisfied with twenty

thouſand crowns, provided we paid them on the ſpot, or gave him good ſecurities for the payment. To this we could only repeat what we had ſaid before. He then propoſed to abate five thouſand of his laſt demand; aſſuring us, that unleſs we came to ſome agreement there was no torment ſo cruel but we ſhould ſuffer it; and talked of nothing but impaling and fleaing us alive. The terror of theſe threatenings was much increaſed by his domeſtics, who told us of many of his cruelties. This is certain, that ſome time before he had uſed ſome poor Pagan merchants in that manner; and had cauſed the executioner to begin to flea them, when ſome Bramin, touched with compaſſion, generouſly contributed the ſum demanded for their ranſom. We had no reaſon to hope for ſo much kindneſs; and having nothing of our own, could promiſe no certain ſum.

At length ſome of his favourites, whom he moſt confided in, knowing his cruelty, and our inability to pay what he demanded, and apprehending, that if he ſhould put us to the death he threatened, they ſhould ſoon ſee the fleets of Portugal in the Red ſea, laying their towns in aſhes to revenge it, endeavoured to ſoften his paſſion, and preſerve our lives; offering to advance the ſum we ſhould agree for, without any other ſecurity than our words. By this aſſiſtance, after many interviews with the Baſſa's agents, we agreed to pay four thouſand three hundred crowns, which were accepted, on condition that they ſhould be paid down, and we ſhould go on board within two hours. But changing his reſolution on a ſudden, he ſent us word by his treaſurer, that two of the moſt conſiderable among us ſhould ſtay behind for ſecurity, while the reſt went to procure the money they had promiſed. They kept the patriarch and two more fathers, one of which was above fourſcore years old, in whoſe

whoſe place I choſe to remain priſoner; and repreſented to the Baſſa, that, being worn out with age, he perhaps might die in his hands, which would loſe the part of the ranſom which was due on his account; that therefore it would be better to chuſe a younger in his place, offering to ſtay myſelf with him, that the good old man might be ſet at liberty.

The Baſſa agreed to another Jeſuit, and it pleaſed Heaven that the lot fell upon father Francis Marquez. I imagined that I might with the ſame eaſe get the patriarch out of his hand; but no ſooner had I began to ſpeak but the anger flaſhed in his eyes, and his look was ſufficient to make me ſtop and deſpair of ſucceſs. We parted immediately, leaving the patriarch and two fathers in priſon, whom we embraced with tears, and went to take up our lodging on board the veſſel.

CHAP. XV.

Their treatment on board the veſſel. Their reception at Diou. The Author applies to the Viceroy for aſſiſtance, but without ſucceſs. He is ſent to ſolicit in Europe.

OUR condition here was not much better than that of the illuſtrious captives whom we left behind. We were in an Arabian ſhip, with a crew of pilgrims of Mecca, with whom it was a point of religion to inſult us. We were lodged upon the deck, expoſed to all the injuries of the weather; nor was there the meaneſt workman or ſailor who did not either kick or ſtrike us. When we went firſt on board, I perceived a humour in my finger, which

which I neglected at firſt, till it ſpread over my hand, and ſwelled up my arm, afflicting me with the moſt horrid torture. There was neither ſurgeon nor medicines to be had; nor could I procure any thing to eaſe my pain but a little oil, with which I anointed my arm, and in time found ſome relief. The weather was very bad, and the wind almoſt always againſt us; and to increaſe our perplexity, the whole crew, though Moors, were in the greateſt apprehenſion of meeting any of thoſe veſſels which the Turks maintain in the ſtreight of Babelmandel. The ground of their fear was, that the captain had neglected the laſt year to touch at Moca, though he had promiſed. Thus we were in danger of falling into a captivity, perhaps more ſevere than that we had juſt eſcaped from. While we were wholly engaged with theſe apprehenſions, we diſcovered a Turkiſh ſhip and galley were come upon us. It was almoſt calm, at leaſt there was not wind enough to give us any proſpect of eſcaping; ſo that when the galley came up to us, we thought ourſelves loſt without remedy; and had probably fallen into their hands, had not a breeze ſprung up juſt in the inſtant of danger, which carried us down the channel between the main land and the iſle of Babel-mandel. I have already ſaid that this paſſage is difficult and dangerous, which nevertheleſs we paſſed in the night, without knowing what courſe we held, and were tranſported at finding ourſelves next morning out of the Red ſea, and half a league from Babelmandel. The currents are here ſo violent that they carried us againſt our will to Cape Guardafui, where we ſent our boats aſhore for freſh water, which we began to be in great want of. The captain refuſed to give us any, when we deſired ſome, and treated us with great inſolence, till, coming near the land, I ſpoke to him in a tone more lofty and reſolute than I had ever done;

done; and gave him to underſtand, that when he touched at Diou he might have occaſion for our intereſt. This had ſome effect upon him, and procured us a greater degree of civility than we had met with before.

At length, after forty days ſailing, we landed at Diou, where we were met by the whole city, it being reported that the patriarch was one of our number; for there was not a gentleman who was not impatient to have the pleaſure of beholding that good man, now made famous by his labours and ſufferings. It is not in my power to repreſent the different paſſions they were affected with, at ſeeing us pale, meagre, without cloaths; in a word, almoſt naked, and almoſt dead with fatigue and ill uſage. They could not behold us in that miſerable condition without reflecting on the hardſhips we had undergone, and our brethren then underwent, in Suaquem and Abyſſinia. Amidſt their thanks to God for our deliverance, they could not help lamenting the condition of the patriarch and the other miſſionaries, who were in chains, or at leaſt in the hands of profeſſed enemies to our holy religion. All this did not hinder them from teſtifying, in the moſt obliging manner, their joy for our deliverance; and paying ſuch honours as ſurpriſed the Moors, and made them repent in a moment of the ill-treatment they had ſhown us on board. One who had diſcovered ſomewhat more humanity than the reſt, thought himſelf ſufficiently honoured when I took him by the hand and preſented him to the chief officer of the cuſtomhouſe, who promiſed to do all the favours that were in his power.

When we paſſed by in ſight of the fort, they gave us three ſalutes with their cannon, an honour only paid to generals. The chief men of the city, who waited for us on the ſhore, accompanied us through a crowd of people,

ple, whom curioſity had drawn from all parts, to our college. Though our place of reſidence at Diou is one of the moſt beautiful in all the Indies, we ſtaid there only a few days; and as ſoon as we had recovered our fatigues, went on board the ſhips that were appointed to convoy the northern fleet. I was in the admiral's. We arrived at Goa, in ſome veſſels bound for Cambeia. Here we loſt a good old Abyſſin convert, a man much valued in his order, and who was actually prior of his convent when he left Abyſſinia; chuſing rather to forſake all for religion, than to leave the way of ſalvation which God had ſo mercifully favoured him with the knowledge of.

We continued our voyage, and, almoſt without ſtopping, ſailed by Surate and Damam, where the rector of the college came to ſee us; but ſo ſea-ſick, that the interview was without any ſatisfaction on either ſide. Then landing at Bazaim, we were received by our fathers with their accuſtomed charity; and nothing was thought of but how to put the unpleaſing remembrance of our paſt labours out of our minds. Finding here an order of the father provincial to forbid thoſe who returned from the miſſions to go any farther, it was thought neceſſary to ſend an agent to Goa, with an account of the revolutions that had happened in Abyſſinia, and of the impriſonment of the patriarch. For this commiſſion I was made choice of; and I know not by what hidden decree of Providence almoſt all affairs, whatever the ſucceſs of them was, were tranſacted by me. All the coaſts were beſet by Dutch cruiſers, which made it difficult to ſail without running the hazard of being taken. I went therefore by land from Bazaim to Tana, where we had another college, and from thence to our houſe of Chaul. Here I hired a narrow light veſſel,

veſſel; and placing eighteen oars on a ſide, went cloſe by the ſhore, from Chaul to Goa, almoſt eighty leagues. We were often in danger of being taken; and particularly when we touched at Dabal, where a cruiſer blocked up one of the channels through which ſhips uſually ſail; but our veſſel requiring no great depth of water, and the ſea running high, we went through the little channel, and fortunately eſcaped the cruiſer. Though we were yet far from Goa, we expected to arrive there on the next morning, and rowed forward with all the diligence we could. The ſea was calm and delightful, and our minds were at eaſe; for we imagined ourſelves paſt danger; but ſoon found we had flattered ourſelves too ſoon with ſecurity, for we came within ſight of ſeveral barks of Malabar, which had been hid behind a point of land which we were going to double. Here we had been inevitably taken, had not a man called to us from the ſhore, and informed us, that among thoſe fiſhing boats there, ſome cruiſers would make us a prize. We rewarded our kind informer for the ſervice he had done us, and lay by till night came to ſhelter us from our enemies. Then, putting out our oars, we landed at Goa next morning about ten, and were received at our college. It being there a feſtival day, each had ſomething extraordinary allowed him. The choiceſt part of our entertainments was two pilchers, which were admired becauſe they came from Portugal.

The quiet I began to enjoy did not make me loſe the remembrance of my brethren whom I had left languiſhing among the rocks of Abyſſinia, or groaning in the priſons of Suaquem; whom, ſince I could not ſet at liberty without the viceroy's aſſiſtance, I went to implore it; and did not fail to make uſe of every motive which could have any influence.

I deſcribed, in the moſt pathetic manner I could, the miſerable ſtate to which the Catholic religion was reduced, in a country where it had lately flouriſhed ſo much by the labours of the Portugueſe. I gave him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, a repreſentation of all that we had ſuffered ſince the death of Sultan Segued; how we had been driven out of Abyſſinia; how many times they had attempted to take away our lives; in what manner we had been betrayed, and given up to the Turks; the menaces we had been terrified with; the inſults we had endured. I laid before him the danger the patriarch was in of being either impaled or flead alive; the cruelty, inſolence, and avarice of the Baſſa of Suaquem; and the perſecution that the Catholics ſuffered in Ethiopia. I exhorted, I implored him, by every thing I thought might move him, to make ſome attempt for the preſervation of thoſe who had voluntarily ſacrificed their lives for the ſake of God. I made it appear with how much eaſe the Turks might be driven out of the Red ſea, and the Portugueſe enjoy all the trade of thoſe countries. I informed him of the navigation of that ſea, and the ſituation of its ports; told him which it would be neceſſary to make ourſelves maſters of firſt, that we might upon any unfortunate encounter retreat to them. I cannot deny that ſome degree of reſentment might appear in my diſcourſe; for though revenge be prohibited to Chriſtians, I ſhould not have been diſpleaſed to have had the Baſſa of Suaquem and his brother in my hands, that I might have reproached them with the ill-treatment we had met with from them. This was the reaſon of my adviſing to make the firſt attack upon Mazua, to drive the Turks from thence, to build a citadel, and garriſon it with Portugueſe.

The viceroy liſtened with great attention to all I had to ſay; gave me a long audience; and aſked me many queſtions.

queſtions. He was well pleaſed with the deſign of ſending a fleet into that ſea; and to give a greater reputation to the enterprize, propoſed making his ſon commander in chief; but could by no means be brought to think of fixing garriſons, and building fortreſſes there. All he intended was to plunder all they could, and lay the towns in aſhes.

I left no art of perſuaſion untried to convince him, that ſuch a reſolution would injure the intereſts of Chriſtianity. That to enter the Red ſea only to ravage the coaſts would ſo enrage the Turks, that they would certainly maſſacre all the Chriſtian captives, and for ever ſhut the paſſage into Abyſſinia, and hinder all communication with that empire. It was my opinion, that the Portugueſe ſhould firſt eſtabliſh themſelves at Mazua; and that an hundred of them would be ſufficient to keep the fort that ſhould be built. He made an offer of only fifty, and propoſed that we ſhould collect thoſe few Portugueſe who were ſcattered over Abyſſinia. Theſe meaſures I could not approve.

At length, when it appeared that the viceroy had neither forces nor authority ſufficient for this undertaking, it was agreed that I ſhould go immediately into Europe, and repreſent at Rome and Madrid the miſerable condition of the miſſions of Abyſſinia. The viceroy promiſed, that if I could procure any aſſiſtance, he would command in perſon the fleet and forces raiſed for the expedition; aſſuring me, that he thought he could not employ his life better than in a war ſo holy, and of ſo great an importance to the propogation of the Catholic faith.

Encouraged by this diſcourſe of the viceroy, I immediately prepared myſelf for a voyage to Liſbon, not doubting to obtain, upon the leaſt ſolicitation, every thing that was neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh our miſſion.

Never

Never had any man a voyage ſo troubleſome as mine, or interrupted with ſuch variety of unhappy accidents. I was ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Natal; I was taken by the Hollanders; and it is not eaſy to mention the danger which I was expoſed to, both by land and ſea, before I arrived at Portugal.

SEQUEL

SEQUEL

OF THE ACCOUNT OF

ABYSSINIA.

CHAP. I.

The calamities that befell the miſſionaries in Ethiopia. A counterfeit biſhop is detected in Abyſſinia. Another, imagined a favourer of the Catholics, is choſen.

SCARCELY had father Jerome Lobo left Suaquem, before a report was ſpread, that the Portugueſe fleet had entered the Red ſea, made a deſcent upon the coaſts of Abyſſinia, and were come with a deſign of conquering the empire. The terror cauſed by this report, very far from ſtopping the perſecution, much contributed to exaſperate it. The Portugueſe, who had been ſettled a long time in this kingdom, were conſtrained to retire farther into the country, having leave only to take with them one miſſionary; and even that conſolation they were ſoon deprived of; for the father John Pereira, who had offered to run all hazards with them, was obliged to conceal himſelf for the preſervation of his life, by an edict publiſhed about the ſame time; which, after declaring that the emperor thought himſelf not ſe-

cure while there was a ſingle miſſionary in his dominions, enjoined all his ſubjects to make ſtrict ſearch, and put to death, or deliver to juſtice, all that they could find.

Caſſamariam kept near his perſon the fathers Apollinaro d'Almerda biſhop of Nice, and Hyacinto Franciſco a Florentine; and informing them, after the edict was publiſhed, that he could preſerve them no longer, he conducted them to ſome rough unfrequented mountains, where indeed they lay hid ſecure enough from their perſecutors, but were every moment in danger of being devoured by ravenous beaſts, or periſhing with hunger. The report that they were dead made them leſs ſought after. Caſſamariam, upon reflection, conſidering the danger of their preſent abode, conducted the biſhop of Nice to the place where father Francis Rodriguez had choſen his retreat; and no ſmall pleaſure did theſe two confeſſors feel at their meeting; that they might live together, and aſſiſt each other, was an inexpreſſible ſatisfaction. The father Franciſco changed his place of retirement, but not for the better. He was a whole year without ſeeing the light of the ſun, not daring to go out for air but in the night, and even that liberty coſt him dear; ſo that having nothing to ſatisfy his avaricious hoſt with any longer, he was forced to ſeek for protection in another place.

The ſame misfortune befel the fathers Lewis, Cardeira, and Bruno Bruni. They hid themſelves in the houſe of Zerr Jannes, who, after having ſhown them the higheſt reſpect and civility, till he had got all their ornaments and veſſels into his hands, then threatened to ſell them to the Turks; and could not be prevailed on to diſmiſs them, or diverted from his perfidious reſolution,

but

but by the payment of eleven ounces of gold for their ranſom.

Bruno Bruni went to join the fathers Gaſpar Payz, and John Pereira, who lay concealed at Aſſa, ten miles from Fremona, under the protection of Tecla Emanuel. This faithful friend and protector of the miſſionaries being ſoon recalled from his government, gave notice to the fathers, that his brother Melca Chriſtos was named for his ſucceſſor, adviſing them to be cautious of repoſing any truſt in him, he being nearly allied to ſome of the moſt hot and violent perſecutors of the Catholic faith. Theſe fathers had made uſe of this information had they known whether to fly, or whom to truſt; but having ſo often been abandoned and betrayed by thoſe who had given them marks of the ſincereſt friendſhip, they were now unable to determine what courſe to take. They continued thus wavering and uncertain, till it was told them that Melca Chriſtos, the new governor, deſired to ſee them; who immediately came in ſight with a troop of guards, having laid another party in ambuſh. He told the fathers with an affected melancholy, that he had been lately informed that his brother was laid in chains, by the king's command, for having protected them; and that he was ſorry to tell them, a neceſſary regard to his own ſecurity forced him to deſire them to remove.

Scarcely had he ſpoke the laſt words, before his ſoldiers, to the number of an hundred and thirty, poured upon the miſſionaries, who, reſolving to ſuffer every thing for the religion they had come to preach, exhorted their attendants to retire. The father Gaſpar Payz, who had neither ſtrength nor inclination to defend himſelf, covering his face with his handkerchief, leaned againſt a tree, and in that poſture was run through with lances. The reſt, after a gallant defence, being overborn and wearied

by the numbers of their adverſaries, ended their labours by a glorious death, except Bruno Bruni, who, being left as dead, was cured afterwards by a Cafre ſlave.

During the time of this cruel perſecution, the Jacobite church of Abyſſinia ſuffered one of the greateſt reproaches that had ever happened to it. A man who was bringing ſome Nubia horſes into the province of Narca, had the impudence, without being ſo much as ſhorn, to take upon himſelf the ſtile of Abuna of Abyſſinia, and to exerciſe all the offices of a biſhop. Being known by an Egyptian, he was ſo enraged that he killed him. A crime like this could not be kept private, and the emperor Baſilides, by his own authority, depoſed this Abuna, and baniſhed him into the iſle of Bek.

He that came from Alexandria to ſupply his place was not much better; for he arrived at Abyſſinia, accompanied by his wife and children, and lived in ſo ſcandalous a manner, that the emperor ſent him the ſame year with a ſtrong guard to a rock almoſt inacceſſible, and having confined him there, demanded another biſhop from Alexandria. The father Agatange de Vendome, ſuperior of the miſſion of Capuchins in Egypt, being informed of the miſerable ſtate of religion in Ethiopia, went to the patriarch of Alexandria, imploring him to have pity upon the Chriſtians of Abyſſinia, and to ſend them a biſhop of ſuch conduct and moderation, as might, by his prudence and charity, appeaſe the ſpirits of the people, too much heated by theſe commotions. The patriarch promiſed him all he deſired; and proceeded ſo far as to write to king Baſilides, that the Chriſtians of the Roman church might be treated in his dominions with leſs rigour. The Abbé Mark, who was made Abuna or metropolitan of Abyſſinia, was one of father Agatange's friends; they had converſed often, and the good

Capuchin

Capuchin was perſuaded that he had favourable ſentiments of the Roman church, as it appears by a letter which he wrote on this occaſion to the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez at Suaquem; wherein he informs him, that this Abuna was fully perſuaded of the truth of the doctrines of the church of Rome; that though he could not affirm him to be a Catholic, yet that he was well inclined towards them; that he held the ſame opinions concerning our Saviour, and the ſuperiority of the ſovereign pontiff, and would treat thoſe of the Roman church as orthodox; and deſires of the patriarch, that he would, in regard of his affection for the church, ſhew him all the kindneſs in his power, and recommend him to the admiral of the Portugal fleet.

The patriarch did not find the new Abuna's opinions agreeable to this account of them, for he had impoſed upon the Capuchin father; and far from being either a Catholic, or inclined to favour their opinions, he became, when he was inveſted by his authority, one of the moſt furious of their perſecutors, as father Agatange had himſelf experience of.

CHAP. II.

The patriarch and his companions ſuffer great miſeries. Are ranſomed, and arrive at Diou. Their reception there; with the fate of the other miſſionaries in Abyſſinia.

TO return to the patriarch and two Jeſuits who were left at Suaquem; never was captivity more ſevere than what they endured. The Baſſa, a man whoſe cru-

elty was not to be appeaſed, or avarice ſatiated, began his injuſtice by taking all they had from them; then demanded immenſe ſums, making every day ſome new propoſition more unreaſonable than the laſt. The patriarch, at length, wearied with inceſſant injuries and oppreſſions, made application to the French conſul in Egypt, that he might give notice at Rome of the condition they were in; nor were they without hopes that he might procure letters in their favour from the Baſſa of Cairo, on whom he of Suaquem is dependent.

The conſul employed his intereſt, but without any advantage to the captives at Suaquem, whom the Baſſa loaded with irons heavier than before; faſtening them to the ground by the feet and neck, ſo that they could not move. The Count de Linares, viceroy of the Indies, having received information of the miſeries theſe confeſſors underwent, gave directions to ſome merchants to treat about their ranſom. The Baſſa was offered four thouſand cruſades; but he inſiſted on ſix thouſand for only the patriarch; and there was no way of procuring his liberty, but by ſatisfying this unreaſonable demand.

The patriarch much deſired to take the biſhop of Nice away with him, and directed him to meet him with the utmoſt expedition; but whether the letter miſcarried, or any thing elſe intervened, the biſhop did not appear, and they went away without him. The ſhip, which had waited for them from the 4th of April, ſet ſail on the 24th of Auguſt, and arrived on the 23d of the next month at Diou. The governor went to receive the patriarch at his landing, and offered to convey him to the city in his own chair, which, after having excuſed himſelf, he was obliged to accept of; for, upon trying to walk, he found his legs ſo weak, and his head ſo diſordered,

dered, that he was not able to move a ſtep. He kept his bed ſeveral days, and continued ſix weeks at Diou, to recover from the fatigues of ſo long a voyage, after ſo ſevere a confinement. He landed at Goa on the 19th of December, and had a public audience ſoon after of Don Pedro de Silva, who had ſucceeded the Count de Linares in the government of the Indies; at which he gave him an account of the labours of the miſſionaries, of the progreſs they made in the reign of Sultan Segued, and the calamities they had ſuffered ſince the acceſſion of Baſilides; of their exile, their captivity, and of the danger their brethren were in who choſe to continue their reſidence in Abyſſinia. He repreſented the urgent neceſſity of aſſiſting the riſe, and cheriſhing the growth, of the Catholic religion; but the methods he propoſed diſcovered more of the ſpirit of the warrior than of the biſhop or miſſionary. He declared it as his opinion, that Mazua and Arkiko ought to be ſeized, a ſtrong citadel to be built, and maintained by a numerous garriſon. That one of the princes of Abyſſinia ought to be got into Catholic hands, by winning over or conquering the commander that kept him priſoner; that he ought to be ſet on the throne, and a civil war by that means be raiſed in Abyſſinia.

Father Jerome Lobo ſpoke in much the ſame ſtrain at Rome, which gave occaſion to the Pope, the Cardinals, and all who were concerned in theſe affairs, to ſuſpect that the miſſionaries had infected their preaching, and all their conduct, with a little of the martial ſpirit too natural to the Portugueſe nation. The reſiſtence made at Aſſa and Fremona, the many expedients put in practice to bring back Raſela Chriſtos from his exile; the diſobedience, or, to ſay more, the revolt of Zamariam, that zealous Catholic and eminent protector of the Jeſuits, who, join-

ing himſelf to the enemies of the king at mount Laſta, died with his ſword drawn againſt his ſovereign, confirmed them in their opinion, that the Catholics and miſſionaries of Abyſſinia were not ſheep that would be dragged to the ſlaughter without murmuring.

The fathers Bruno Bruni and Lewis Cardeira retired with Zamariam to mount Salam, whom, it is ſaid, they propoſed to leave when he engaged in arms. However, they wrote to the biſhop of Nice, and to the fathers Hyacinto Franciſco, and Franciſco Rodriguez, to come to them; but were anſwered by the pious miſſionaries, that they came hither to ſuffer and to labour, not to hide themſelves or lie uſeleſs; that their lives were in the hands of God, and that they were reſolved to reſign them entirely to the diſpoſal of his Providence. In which noble reſolution they continued unſhaken, and were not long before they obtained that crown which God hath prepared for thoſe who leave all for him; being ſeized in June 1638, and hanged immediately. The other two fathers, notwithſtanding the care they took to lie undiſcovered, being at length found out, met the ſame fate with their glorious brethren. There now remained no more Jeſuits in Abyſſinia; and all the endeavours of the patriarch to ſend ſome thither were without effect.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Other miſſionaries are ſent into Abyſſinia. Their perſecution and death. The patriarch attempts to ſend more. The vigilance of the emperor, who ſeizes his brother on ſuſpicion, and puts him to death.

THE Pope and Cardinals being prejudiced againſt the conduct of the Jeſuits, gave the charge of this miſſion to ſix French capuchins, who, under the direction of father Agatange, attempted the way into Abyſſinia. Two of them arriving at Mazua were well received by the Baſſa there; but no ſooner entered into Abyſſinia than they were apprehended in the diſguiſe of Armenian merchants, and brought to Mark the Abuna, who diſcovering them to be Catholic prieſts, who came (as he ſaid) to oppoſe and deſtroy the church of Alexandria, ſo enraged the people againſt them, that they were ſtoned on the ſpot. Such was his recompence of the civilities he received from father Agatange, and ſuch the effect of the friendſhip contracted between them.

Two more were maſſacred at Magadoxo; and ſuch had been the fate of the other two, had they not with great prudence continued at Mazua, under the protection of the Baſſa; where their labours were ſo ſucceſsful, that they brought back into the way of ſalvation ſeveral Abyſſin merchants who had been converted formerly by the Jeſuits; but, for want of preachers and inſtructions, had relapſed into their former errors. The harveſt in time grew too great for the labourers; and one of them, worn out by thoſe holy employments, died in the beginning of the year 1642.

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The other, continuing to practiſe the duties of the miſſion, was aſſiſted by two other fathers who came to ſhare his labours. Their arrival gave the alarm to the emperor Baſilides, who, having conceived a firm opinion that all the Catholic princes were in league with the Portugueſe, was in continual apprehenſions of ſome deſign againſt his empire or life; ſo that ſcarcely could a ſhip put in at Mazua or Suaquem, but he imagined it a fleet ſent to invade his dominions. He therefore, upon the firſt account of the arrival of ſome Europeans at Suaquem, ſends an ambaſſador to the Baſſa with a large preſent, entreating him either to drive them out of the country, or put them to death.

This Baſſa was not that generous man who had protected the Capuchins; but was as cruel and avaricious as his predeceſſor was humane and diſintereſted. No ſooner had he received the ambaſſador's preſent, than he ordered the fathers to be ſeized; and calling for thoſe two who came laſt thither, commanded their heads to be ſtruck off in his preſence. As he had ſome acquaintance with him that had reſided longer there, he paid him the compliment of ſending for his head.

After the death of this laſt, it was impoſſible to receive any account of the ſtate of affairs in Abyſſinia; though the patriarch, conſidering himſelf entruſted with the charge of the church of Ethiopia, omitted no endeavours to ſend aſſiſtance to the new converts. Thoſe Jeſuits who had already ſhared with him the labours of the miſſion, and had been forced with him out of Ethiopia, rather animated than diſcouraged by the death of their companions, offered to expoſe themſelves to the ſame dangers, by returning thither; and accuſed their own cowardice which had loſt them the crown of martyrdom.

One

One of theſe pious fathers, hoping by the credit of the Banians at Diou, who carry on a great trade in the Red ſea, to be well received in Mazua, engaged in this undertaking; and, arriving at Suaquem on the 16th of May, went to pay his compliments to the Baſſa as factor of the ſhip. He was well received; but notwithſtanding his diſguiſe, ſome time after diſcovered to be a Jeſuit and a Portugueſe. This was ſufficient to alarm the whole country. The crafty Baſſa ſent for father Calaca; and, telling him of the good will he entertained towards the Jeſuits and Portugueſe, ordered him to return to the Indies with propoſitions for eſtabliſhing a commerce with the viceroy. The father was to no purpoſe appriſed of his intention; though he ſaw the ſnare, there was no avoiding it. He therefore went; and was no ſooner out of the port, than the Baſſa ſeized all his goods for his own uſe.

As to the propoſals of traffic, the Baſſa was in no care about them. The condition of a Turkiſh officer is too uncertain to allow him to entertain proſpects of future advantages. He ſeized what was then within his reach; and was unconcerned at any thing further.

Father Botelho, afterwards being deſirous to try his fortune, landed at Suaquem in a Turkiſh habit. Immediately upon his arrival, advice was ſent to the emperor of Abyſſinia, that a Portugueſe Jeſuit was come to that port. This intelligence raiſed all his paſſion; for being poſſeſſed by an opinion that the Portugueſe were in arms againſt him, ſupported by all the powers of Europe, he made the ſtrongeſt application to the Baſſa, that he would not ſuffer a ſingle Portugueſe to reſide in the neighbourhood of his dominions; and imagining that Claudius, his young brother, held a private correſpondence with the Jeſuits, he put him under an arreſt.

This young prince's only crime was, that he was imagined

gined to adhere to the Roman church; becauſe he frequently, as the licentious lives of the Abuna and the reſt of the clergy fell under his obſervation, would compare them with the conſtancy, piety, and modeſty of the patriarch; affirming, that the king his brother had not in his empire a preacher equal to him: than this, and the diſcharge of ſome of his domeſtics for having abjured the church of Rome, there needed nothing more to make the prince criminal at a time when to profeſs the Catholic religion was treaſon.

The king, reſolving to ſecure the perſon of his brother, having placed ſome officers and ſoldiers in his palace, ſends for the prince, under pretence of having ſome weighty affair to communicate; then leading him through ſeveral apartments, gives the ſign to ſome men, who were hid on purpoſe, to ſeize him. They fell upon him in an inſtant, and loading him with chains, led him to a priſon fortified on purpoſe to ſecure him. All his children and dependants were arreſted at the ſame time. The manner of proceeding againſt him was very compendious. The army was aſſembled, and the prince brought out bound. The king then, in an harangue to the multitude, accuſed his brother of having abandoned the religion of his anceſtors, of deſigning to introduce the Portugueſe into Abyſſinia, and conſpiring againſt his government and life.

When a man is accuſed by his king in perſon before a prejudiced crowd, incapable of ſeparating the truth from the falſehood, he is eaſily found guilty. No ſooner had the king ceaſed to ſpeak, than the whole audience cried out for juſtice on a man ſo infamous for apoſtacy and treaſon. A ſentence thus pronounced never fails to be ſpeedily executed. The prince was remanded back to priſon, and the ſame night loſt his head.

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This execution prepared a way for many others; and all who were ſuſpected of favouring either the prince or the Roman church ſhared in his ſentence, and had their goods confiſcated, and their perſons confined. The perſecution was carried on without regard to dignity, age, or ſex. All theſe ſeverities were not able to ſet the emperor's mind at quiet; for, imagining that he had rather excited than ſuppreſſed the murmurs of his people, and increaſed the numbers as well as aggravated the malice of the malecontents, he thought it neceſſary to ſecure himſelf on his throne by leagues and alliances; and therefore ſent ambaſſadors to a Mahometan prince, with propoſals of tolerating the exerciſe of his religion in Abyſſinia, and a requeſt that ſome of their learned men might be ſent to inſtruct his people.

This important commiſſion was truſted jointly to a Chriſtian and Mahometan; but the Mahometan, being more fully inſtructed in the extent of the emperor's project, treated his colleague with a contempt which is never forgiven; and engroſſed all the honours and preſents which they were complimented with in the Mahometan country. Reſentment of ſuch uſage made the Chriſtian turn his whole thoughts upon defeating the deſign; and ſcarce were they arrived at the frontiers of Abyſſinia, before he publicly declared the whole intent of the negociation. The Monks, at this news, were the firſt who took up arms; and the people, by their perſuaſion and example, made a general inſurrection. Nothing now was talked of but dethroning king Baſilides, and ſetting up another prince more capable of ſtanding up in defence of the religion of his country.

Never was Baſilides more terrified. The people, tumultuous and enraged, could ſcarcely be prevailed upon to hear any defence. He denied all he had been charged

ged with, and threw the whole upon the queen his mother, who ſtill retained a great affection for the Mahometans, from whom ſhe deſcended. This plea was confuted by the many perſonal interviews he had been obſerved to have with the Mahometan doctor, who came back with the ambaſſador of the ſame religion. Finding, that neither his crown nor his life could be preſerved without bidding farewel to his new ſcheme, he ſent away the Mahometan with as little noiſe as he could, loaded with honours and with riches.

This account, however, diſputed by Mr Ludolf, who denies that any ſuch deſign was ever on foot, and attempts to prove, by political arguments, the inconſiſtency of it with the emperor's intereſt; affirming the emperor never was ſo cruel as to put his brother to death, is ſupported by the teſtimony of the father Bernard Nogueira, who was then in Ethiopia; of Torquato Piſani, who, as it is reaſonable to believe, was at Mazua; and of Alphonſo Mendez, who heard it from ſome Abyſſins who came into the Indies. Facts, proved by ſo many teſtimonies, ought to be confuted by ſome more ſolid arguments than vain conjectures and uncertain reaſonings.

The perſecution grew hotter every day; and there were left but five Portugueſe and four Abyſſin prieſts to adminiſter the ſacraments to thoſe who ſtill continued ſtedfaſt in the Catholic religion. Theſe, though they had hitherto eſcaped the fate of their brethren, ſuffered all the inconveniences of nakedneſs and hunger.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The patriarch ſends letters to father Nogueira. The emperor renews the perſecution. His ill ſucceſs in his other affairs.

ALPHONSO MENDEZ, not diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of ſo many adventurers, was continually ſtudying new means for the relief of the Abyſſinian Catholics. Two of his domeſtics were fortunate enough to find the way into Ethiopia, one of whom I take to be that Gregory, made ſo famous by the hiſtory of Mr Ludolf; and the time in which Gregory reports himſelf to have made his voyage ſtrengthens my conjecture. After this there was no poſſibility of ſending any meſſages to Abyſſinia, or receiving any accounts from thence. The miſerable ſtate which the Catholics were apprehended to be in, was repreſented to the biſhops and governor of the Indies in a moſt pathetic letter by father Nogueira, who, though worn out himſelf with miſeries, could nor forbear attempting ſomething for the ſervice of the converts of Abyſſinia, and applied himſelf to the Banians. But thoſe men, whoſe tenderneſs and compaſſion would not ſuffer them to put the moſt contemptible animal to death, could hear the moving entreaties and ſorrowful relation of the father without being affected.

His letter, however, could not be read by the patriarch without the ſtrongeſt emotions. That prelate, whoſe thoughts were always intent upon his church of Ethiopia, after having failed in all his attempts to ſend Jeſuits into that country, at length pitched upon one George, an Abyſſin, who had been many years in the ſervice of the fathers;

thers; imagining, that he, being acquainted with the country, would be better enabled to elude the diligence of the guards who were poſted at the avenues.

This man, with a Banian his companion, after ſome delays, occaſioned by a difference between the governor of Moca and the Baſſa of Mazua, which had interrupted all commerce between thoſe two ports, and conſequently left them no means of travelling, arrived at Mazua; and by preſents, having eaſily procured free paſſage through the Baſſa's diſtrict, they continued their journey for two days; then ſtopping at Engana, ſent letters to father Nogueira, who lay concealed in the country of the Agaus. It is not eaſy to deſcribe his ſurpriſe at hearing that he was diſcovered, and enquired after. He could not be convinced that the meſſengers were any other than officers ſent with a plauſible pretence to enſnare and apprehend him. He read the letters over and over, and ſtill continued incredulous; nor could he be brought to entertain any other opinion, though they gave him ſuch tokens, as, had he been leſs diſturbed, he would have known could be ſent by none but the patriarch. At length, by the advice of his friends, he was prevailed with to go with the meſſengers, and came on the 24th of March to Engana, where, with a ſtrange mixture of joy and grief, they heard and told their own calamities and thoſe of their brethren.

About this time the emperor, being alarmed by ſome groundleſs reports of the preparations of the Portugueſe, a tale which never failed to fill him with terror, and exaſperate him againſt the Catholics, renewed the perſecution with great fury, and iſſued out a proclamation for apprehending father Nogueira; and having, by the information of ſome who had returned to their former religion,

detected

detected many Portugueſe Catholics, put them all to death without mercy.

This emperor was only artful and fortunate in his attempts againſt his Catholic ſubjects, for almoſt every other undertaking miſcarried. His general, Bela Chriſtos, loſt his army in the mountains of Laſta. The Galles, having ravaged one of his provinces, retreated without being attacked. His army revolted; and one of his kingdoms refuſed their tribute. The next year was even more unfortunate. His army, under Bela Chriſtos, was almoſt entirely cut off; and, to complete his misfortunes, the king of Adel, hearing of all theſe loſſes, ſeized ſome rocks in his dominions, and from thence made inroads into his country. Mr Ludolf, notwithſtanding all theſe unhappy accidents, affirms, that no emperor had ever a reign of more honour and tranquillity than Baſilides after the expulſion of the Jeſuits. But his conjectures are often only founded upon prejudice, and are not to be oppoſed to facts proved by ſuch authentic teſtimonies as we can produce.

At this time the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez died, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age. He had all the qualities of a good and uſeful miſſionary, being bleſſed with an extraordinary degree of patience, reſolution, zeal, and learning, yet his conduct ſeems liable to ſome cenſure; and it is not eaſy to excuſe the rigour with which he inſiſted on the abolition of ſome ancient cuſtoms which the Abyſſins had received with the truths of the goſpel, and which have never yet been condemned by the church.

After the death of this prelate, we have very little knowledge of what happened in the interiour regions of Abyſſinia; and have no other memoirs to make uſe of for continuing our relation, than what we have received from Cairo.

CHAP. V.

Mr Poncet goes into Ethiopia. Comes back with a pretended ambaſſador. Is well received at Paris and at Rome. An envoy arrives at Paris from the patriarch of Alexandria.

AGI ALI, factor to the king of Abyſſinia, was afflicted with the ſame diſtemper with the king his maſter and the prince, and had applied himſelf, in his enquiry for a phyſician, to the Franciſcan miſſionaries of Italy; which the conſul of France hearing of, procured that Agi Ali ſhould have recourſe to him. After ſome converſation about the king's diſtemper, the conſul told him of a phyſician among his attendants who had more ſkill than any other in the world; and engaged the Abyſſin to make uſe of him. This learned phyſician was James Charles Poncet, a ſurgeon of Franche-Compté, who undertook and performed the cure. This ſucceſs ſo increaſed his reputation, that nothing now was talked of but the French phyſician.

Every thing was got ready for the departure of Monſieur Poncet, and his journey into Abyſſinia. The father Brevedent, a Jeſuit of Roan, who was influenced by no motives but zeal and charity, was reſolved to go as companion of this ſurgeon, newly dignified with the title of phyſician; and without ſo much as waiting for the orders of his ſuperiors, changing his dreſs and his name, went away with Mr Poncet.

Two companions, of tempers more different, were never known. The ſurgeon was a man of a roving mind, without the leaſt ſenſe of either honour or religion, and of parts below the middle rank of mankind; who knew nothing

nothing but lying, and impoſed upon all that had any thing to do with him. The Jeſuit was a man full of religious ſentiments, of a placid and ſoft temper, and of great learning; and ſacrificed himſelf with no other view than of promoting the glory of God. Agi Ali, the principal man of the company, was more ſubtle and crafty than Mr Poncet; and, like him, made no ſcruple of ſacrificing his honeſty to his intereſt.

They ſet out with the caravan, which was obliged to ſtay a long time in upper Egypt for fear of the Arabs. The only letter that was ever received from father Brevedent was dated from Sanaar, on the 15th of February 1699. In this letter he informs us, that they left Cantara, on the banks of the Nile, the 2d of October; that they travelled for five days croſs a deſart, which begins at that place, without finding any water, except within a days journey of Helaone, a large village inhabited by Turks, and governed by a Chec, whoſe juriſdiction extends to thirty ſmaller villages; that after having travelled in two days from Helaone to Chab, and in three from Chab to Selima, they entered an horrid deſart, where no living animal, not even a fly, was to be ſeen; and the ways were marked by the carcaſes of camels that had died in paſſing it. No other creature is capable of undergoing ſuch fatigues, and he was told by an old man of the company, that the camels of thoſe caravans that march weſtward from the banks of the Nile, are ſometimes forty days without eating; for they cannot eat unleſs they drink, and they ſometimes find no water in that time. After paſſing this deſart, they ſtopped at Machou to refreſh themſelves, after the labours of ſo fatiguing a march. Here the men and women wear no other cloaths than an apron. The women only dreſs their heads by braiding their hair. The men of quality diſtinguiſh

themſelves by hanging a ſword at their left arm, and carrying a lance in their right. Their houſes are nothing but huts of clay, and the ſtraw of doras, a grain of which they make ſour bread, and a drink very intoxicating. This country breeds excellent horſes, and is governed by a Cheik.

Not far diſtant is the iſle of Argo, which hath its governor, or Ahab. Here the phyſician gave remedies to the Cheik and governor, and performed ſeveral cures. Here are many houſes along the bank of the Nile. A days journey from Machou or Moſcho is the village of Harril. On the 13th of November the caravan arrived at Dongola, the commander of which takes upon him the ſtile of King, or Malek, which is corruptly pronounced Mek, though he is ſet up and depoſed at the pleaſure of the king of Sanaar. During a long ſtay which they made at Dongola, the Cheik Gandil treated the phyſician and father ſeveral days at Corry, a place two days journey from Dongola, and gave them proviſions to paſs the deſart of Bebouda. They left Dongola the 19th of January, and on the 23d came to Derreira on the Nile, which they had left for ſome days, marching to the weſtward, to eſcape thoſe troops that had revolted from the king of Sanaar. On the 26th they left Derreira, and on the 28th paſſed a branch of the Nile, and lodged that evening at Guelri, where they found the country better peopled than any they had paſſed through. After they came from Egypt, the villages are large, and the roofs, on account of the rains, raiſed in form of a pyramid. On the 6th of February, having croſſed the river again, they lodged at Herbagi; and having reſted there two days, arrived on the 12th at Sanaar. Thus far father Brevedent.

Theſe travellers were detained three whole months at Sanaar;

Sanaar; ſo that the rains began before they came to Jeſim, a place in the mid-way between Sanaar and the frontiers of Abyſſinia. The father Brevedent, weakened by a diſtemper, and haraſſed beyond his ſtrength by ſo toilſome a march, died at Braco, with that hope and conſolation which accompanies the laſt hours of thoſe who have lived in the fear and died in the ſervice of God.

Nothing being heard either from father Brevedent or Mr Poncet, the fathers Grenier and Paulet, two Jeſuits, being impatient to go into Ethiopia, ſet out on their journey thither, without ſtaying for proper informations. By the recommendation of the French conſul, they were well received at Sanaar; and being introduced to the Abyſſinian ambaſſador, who was then concluding a peace between the two kingdoms, left Sanaar in his train on the 26th of May. Had they ſtaid at Cairo long enough to have ſeen Mr Poncet's letters, which came ſome time after their departure, they would perhaps have been leſs eager of entering into a kingdom which it is ſo difficult to return out of. Mr Poncet tells the French conſul in his letter to him, that in his opinion no miſſionary will ever be received in Ethiopia. Such an inveterate hatred being conceived there againſt the Franks, that, upon the news of his arrival, the religious, to the number of an hundred thouſand, roſe in a tumultuous manner; and the like inſurrection happened upon advice that an Engliſh ſhip was ſeen on their coaſt. He tells of great favours received from Negus; and that Agi Ali, for having robbed him and his companion on the road, was cloſely confined; and that his houſe was ſold for Mr Poncet's uſe. This letter was written at Gedda, on the 6th of December 1700. In the beginning of January, Mr Poncet ſet out on his return, and wrote from Suez, that he had ſeen the Abyſſinian ambaſſador. He arrived at Cairo the 20th of June, and the ambaſſador on the next day.

Different opinions have been formed of Murat Eben Magdeloun, for ſo the ambaſſador was named. Some affirm, that they have ſeen him before at Cairo in a condition very different from the character he aſſumed; others ſay he was the ſon of Murat, who was then the emperor's prime miniſter, and of whom it may not be improper to give ſome account.

This man, ſettling in Abyſſinia in the time of the emperor Baſilides, made ſeveral voyages on account of trade to Batavia; and went thither in 1678, where he had thoſe conferences with Paul de Rod which Mr Ludolf hath publiſhed under the name of the preſent ſtate of Ethiopia. He was received as envoy of the emperor, and perſuaded the Dutch to fit out ſome veſſels in proſpect of an advantageous trade with the Abyſſins; but theſe veſſels returned back with the ſame lading which they took out. Murat, coming again ſome time after, took back with him an envoy from the Dutch Eaſt India company; and when they came to Moca, promiſed to fetch him a paſſport, which was neceſſary for his entering that empire, and demanded the preſents which were deſigned for the emperor, but being refuſed them went away; and the Hollander, having waited a year to no purpoſe, came back to Batavia.

Murat Eben Magdeloun was not ſo dexterous as old Murat; he impoſed on none but thoſe that were willing to be cheated; and it was prudent advice which was given him to ſtay at Cairo, and entruſt father Verſeau, ſuperior of the miſſions of Syria, the conſul's chancellor, and Mr Poncet, with the letters and preſents from the emperor of Abyſſinia to the king. Theſe three deputies came to Paris about the end of the year 1701, and Mr Poncet made his appearance in that city with a robe and a bracelet preſented him in Abyſſinia.

Whilſt

Whilſt this ſurgeon, or phyſician, was carried about from houſe to houſe, where, being in no danger of contradiction, he vented his falſehoods without ſcruple. Murat's credentials were examined by perſons ſkilled in the oriental tongues, and acquainted with the cuſtoms and hiſtory of the Abyſſinians, who could not find in it any proofs of its being a credential letter, but detected many faults of the expreſſion and orthography. The confeſſion of faith, which the kings of Abyſſinia always make in the beginning of their letters, was very imperfect; and eſpecially, they were ſurpriſed to find at the end of the letter, Given at Gondar, the capital of Ethiopia. For the word Gondar, or Guender, as Mr Ludolf writes it, ſignifies only a camp, and Axuma is the capital of Abyſſinia.

Notwithſtanding theſe proofs of forgery, Murat was conſidered as an ambaſſador; preſents were ſent him for himſelf and his maſter; his charges at Cairo were defrayed by the king's order; and it was reſolved that this embaſſy ſhould be returned by another, and a miſſion of Jeſuits maintained in Ethiopia at the king's expence.

This was what the fathers of the miſſions wiſhed for; and nothing was talked of but uniting to the Catholic church infinite numbers ſo long ſeparated from it. In the midſt of this diſcourſe, arrived at Paris, one Ibrahim d'Hanna, of the religion of the Maronites, ſent by the patriarch of Alexandria; who, on his landing at Marſeilles, wrote by father Fleuriau's means to the ſecretary of the navy, that the affair might be kept ſecret, for fear of awakening the jealouſy of the Turks. This precaution was too late, the Turks having already publiſhed their Olla or edict, to prohibit the Franks from paſſing into Abyſſinia.

While Ibrahim d'Hanna was in France, father Verſeau, and Mr Poncet were preſſing the affair at Rome with the moſt earneſt ſolicitations, being introduced to an audi-

ence of the Pope by the Cardinal de Janſon himſelf, and well received by his Holineſs, who, in an encomium on the Jeſuits, termed them the pillars of the church. But the reformed Monks of St Francis in Italy, having obtained two years before a grant of the miſſion of Ethiopia, in oppoſition to the claim of the Jeſuits, ſpake with great contempt of the patriarch of Alexandria, and made no ſcruple to affirm, that the letters brought by Murat, and preſented to his Holineſs by father Verſeau, were counterfeit, and that they had the true ones. It was uncertain which of theſe bold competitors ought to be credited. Mr Poncet's letters, however, ſeem to carry evident marks of forgery, as will appear from the words in which the emperor addreſſes the Pope. "I am convinced, ſays he, that the calamities with which my kingdoms and people have been afflicted, proceed from no other cauſe than our ſeparation from the head of the church. Send me two or three ſkilful miſſionaries to inſtruct me in the faith, and repair the loſs of father Brevedent." This good and pious miſſionary, who died before his arrival at Gondar, was never ſeen by the emperor, or known in Abyſſinia by any other name than that of Joſeph; nor is he mentioned by any other name in the letters to the king of Sanaar.

Ibrahim d'Hanna had his charges at Paris defrayed by the miſſion of Syria, and was treated as an ambaſſador, being admitted to many conferences with the miniſter of the navy. He had the honour of concerting the affair with the king, who agreed to all the patriarch's propoſals. And being preſented with a gold medal, and furniſhed with money for his voyage, he left Paris at the end of October, and came to Rome in the beginning of the year 1703, where he had audience of the Pope and of Cardinal Barberino prefect of the congregation for

for propagating the faith. Yet notwithſtanding the protection and countenance of the Cardinal de Janſon, his credit, and the reality of his commiſſion, were called in queſtion. Nor would the court of Rome come to any determination, till they had ſent one Gabriel, a Maronite, who was then at Rome, to Cairo, that he might examine the matter to the bottom.

The patriarch of Alexandria freely owned that he had ſent him, though he had before denied it to the conſul of France. And being aſked whether he had reſolved to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope, and acknowledge the authority of the church of Rome, he gave the meſſenger a profeſſion of his faith, ſound and orthodox enough, but could never be prevailed on to ſign it. This ambiguous behaviour ſufficiently acquitted Ibrahim from any ſuſpicion of fraud, but made the intentions of the patriarch very much ſuſpected.

CHAP. VI.

The miſcarriage of Mr Poncet's ſecond voyage. Mr du Roule ſets out on his journey to Abyſſinia. Is oppoſed and calumniated. He arrives at Sanaar, and is aſſaſſinated there by the king's command.

IN the mean time, Mr Poncet arrived from Rome at Cairo, and made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a ſecond voyage into Abyſſinia, being accompanied by Murat the ambaſſador, who was now ſent back loaded with preſents and teſtimonials of his good conduct, with letters for the king his maſter, and the prime miniſter. This company left Cairo on the 6th of October 1703, in order

order to go to Suez, where father de Bernat, a Jeſuit, waited for them, and embarked for Gedda on the 3d of December. They were ſoon ſo unhappy as to diſagree amongſt themſelves. Mr Poncet, in a letter, makes heavy complaints of Murat; whoſe diſpoſition, he ſays, he did not know before this voyage to Gedda. He forgets that it was he who raiſed him to the dignity of an ambaſſador, that he was received upon his word, and being now ſomewhat diſſatisfied with his behaviour, endeavours to repreſent him as a man of the vileſt character, and a declared enemy to all Franks, who will, as far as he can, hinder their reception in Ethiopia; and to confirm his aſſertions, he appeals to father Bernat. For his own part, he declares himſelf ready to ſhed his blood for the honour of the king; yet, in the midſt of all theſe proteſtations, inſtead of going forward into Abyſſinia, he wanders into other countries, with the cheſt of medicines bought at the king's charge for this voyage; and abandoning the large poſſeſſions which had been given him in Ethiopia, and the wife which he had married there; he, after having rambled from place to place, died at Iſpahan. Such was the fate of this worthleſs man, who had been too much careſſed and believed.

Murat, fearing the puniſhment which would certainly be inflicted on him at his return into Ethiopia, under pretence of going to Mazua, went to Maſcate, and ended his life there. Father Bernat, much chagrined at finding himſelf in ſo bad company, and entirely diſabled from continuing his journey, returned to Cairo in the beginning of April.

All theſe miſcarriages might have diſcouraged James de Noir, better known by the name of du Roule, who was pitched upon to go as ambaſſador to the emperor of Ethiopia. He was ſo far from being ignorant of what had

had paſſed, that he had borne a principal part in all theſe affairs; yet was reſolved, after having concerted meaſures with the miniſter of the navy, to run the hazard. No voyage was ever undertaken with omens leſs auſpicious, or concluded with ſucceſs leſs happy.

He embarked at Toulon on the 26th of December 1703, in a ſhip commanded by the Chevalier de Fourbin, who was appointed to convoy thirty-ſix merchant ſhips to ſeveral coaſts of the Mediterranean. In the afternoon there roſe ſo violent a tempeſt that the fleet was all diſperſed, and ſo ſhattered that they were incapable of purſuing their voyage till the 8th of February. It is unneceſſary to trouble the reader with all the tempeſts they felt, all the dangers they were expoſed to, and all the obſtacles they met with; which were ſo many, that they were four months in ſailing from Toulon to Egypt.

Here the ambaſſador loſt no time, but prepared every thing with the utmoſt diligence for his journey into Abyſſinia. But ſome knowledge of his deſign having, notwithſtanding all his care to keep it ſecret, got abroad, many difficulties occurred, which were only to be ſurmounted by the power of money.

The Sieur de Roule left Cairo on the 19th of July 1704, and was followed to the boat by great numbers of people with tears in their eyes. It is ſaid that the merchants, who had openly oppoſed this expedition at Cairo, ſtill continued to uſe all their arts to force him to return; and that the Italian Franciſcans, imagining that by his means a miſſion of Jeſuits would be eſtabliſhed in Abyſſinia, caballing with the merchants, gave notice to the Arabs of the departure of the envoy; and engaged them to threaten that they would rob the caravan, if he was admitted to travel with it. The envoy himſelf adds, that a report was ſpread at Siout, that he was going

ing to the king of Abyſſinia to teach him to make powder and caſt cannon, and to engage him in a war againſt the Turks. The reports, though void of all appearance of truth, were ſufficient however to gain credit with this people, who, beſides their natural ſuſpicion and jealouſy, were pleaſed with every thing that gave them an opportunity of ſqueezing money from him.

The Sieur du Roule had been at great expence in preſents to ſecure Belac, the chief of the caravan, in his intereſt, and had received from him many promiſes of ſervice, confirmed by the moſt ſolemn oaths; which however had been all broken, had not a meſſenger arrived with freſh orders from the Baſſa of Cairo to the commander of Siout, which being read to the chiefs of the caravan, they ſwore never to ſeparate from the envoy, but to run all hazards with him.

The commander of Siout told the envoy all the meaſures concerted between the French merchants and Italian Franciſcans to diſappoint his deſign; and Belac informed him, that the patriarch of the Cophtes had inſinuated to the chief perſons of the caravan, that the Franks who were travelling with them were not merchants, and that their intention was to cut the banks of the Nile; for which reaſon they ought to be cautious of admitting them into their company.

The caravan left Siout on the 12th of September; and after having paſſed the two deſarts, came on the 18th of October to Moſcho, where the envoy was informed that the Italian Franciſcans had left Sanaar, whether of their own accord or by compulſion he doth not ſay. This was the laſt letter received from the Sieur du Roule; what news was afterwards heard of him came by indirect ways; and a report was ſpread about

about the country that he was aſſaſſinated, a melancholy preſage of what afterwards came to paſs.

He arrived at Sanaar about the end of May 1705, where he was received with great marks of reſpect. The king ſent two of his officers to meet him, and lodged him in the houſe of his late prime miniſter, whom he had not long before put to death. The miniſter who ſucceeded him ſeemed inclined to enter into an intimate acquaintance with the French envoy, coming often to ſee him, and entertaining him at his own houſe with great familiarity. He even gave him ſome hints, that he had a mind to go with him into Abyſſinia.

Hitherto every thing anſwered the envoy's wiſhes; and it is ſaid, that the cauſe of his fatal end was, that he repoſed too much confidence in the king and his firſt miniſter, and neglecting to ſecure the good-will of the other officers, exaſperated them to his ruin. The accident, which put it in their power to do him ſo great an injury, was this: The king having obtained a victory over his rebels, there was a public feaſt kept at Sanaar. The envoy, thinking he ought on this occaſion to diſplay all his magnificence, had ſet out ſome looking-glaſſes, which brought all the city to his houſe. The king's women, who are rarely permitted to go out, could not forbear gratifying their curioſity with a view of theſe rarities, and above all, were aſtoniſhed at thoſe glaſſes which multiply objects; and imagining this could not be the effect of natural cauſes, repreſented the envoy and his retinue as magicians, who had ill deſigns againſt the king. The whole ſhow added new incitements to the avarice of the officers, and perhaps of the king himſelf; ſo that a few days after, he ſent to demand of the envoy three thouſand piaſters; and being refuſed, let the ambaſſador know by Macé, his interpreter, that his refuſal might bring him

and

and his retinue into danger. The demand was repeated ſeveral times, and Mr du Roule ſtill continued obſtinate. Not to protract the relation, on the 25th of November the king ſent three hundred men to ſeize the envoy in his houſe, with all his retinue; and carrying them into the market-place, firſt cut him in pieces, and afterwards his attendants. The envoy underwent his fate with great reſolution, and exhorted his company to behave themſelves in the ſame manner. Their bodies lay expoſed for ſome time; and it was obſerved, that neither bird nor beaſt of prey did them any injury.

CHAP. VII.

Several revolutions happened in Abyſſinia. The emperor's letter relating to the death of Mr du Roule. The endeavours of the French conſul to revenge it.

ONE Elias, a Syrian, who was to have attended Mr du Roule as his interpreter, had arrived at the dominions of Negus; and having told that prince, according to his inſtructions, that the French profeſſed the ſame religion with the Cophtes, had been well received; and upon this recommendation was permitted by the emperor to return to Mr du Roule, and one of his officers was named to go with him in compliment to the envoy; and was ordered to provide him all the carriages he had occaſion for in his journey from Sanaar. This officer unhappily ſpent too much time either in getting ready his equipages or other amuſements, and came to Sanaar three days after the murder of the envoy.

The king of Sanaar and his council imagined they might

might excuſe their crime by charging Mr du Roule and his company with magic; but the Abyſſin returned very little ſatisfied with this plea.

A great revolution happened at that time in Abyſſinia, by a revolt of the people; who, being headed by the emperor's eldeſt ſon, dethroned the emperor, and put him to death. The cauſe of this general defection is not known. Indeed, if we could be convinced of the genuineneſs of the letter preſented by the Recolet miſſionaries to the Pope, there would be no need of enquiring farther. It appears from Mr Poncet's narrative how nice the nation, and particularly the clergy, are in every thing that bears the leaſt relation to religion; and how much they deteſt the Europeans; their averſion even extends to every thing that is white.

It was not known at Cairo, when the account was received of the aſſaſſination of the envoy, what was the fate of the depoſed emperor. Some affirmed that he was killed, others maintained that he concealed himſelf in ſome corner of his kingdom, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to attack his ſon.

Elias the interpreter, who was on the road to meet the envoy, having heard of this new revolution in Abyſſinia went back, and put the letters, which he had received from Jaſon the late king, into the hands of Teklimanout, who had newly taken poſſeſſion of the throne. Teklimanout directed that they ſhould be copied in his own name; and commanded Elias to take the road to Sanaar. Elias, in purſuance of the king's order, ſet out, and was come within three days journey of Sanaar when he heard of the envoy's unfortunate end; then, thinking it not proper to proceed farther, returned to the emperor, who was enraged at the relation of the maſſacre, and in his paſſion wrote the following letter.

To

To the Pacha, and the lords commanders of the militia at Cairo, from the king of Abyſſinia, the king Teklimanout, ſon of the king of the church of Abyſſinia.

" FROM the auguſt king, powerful arbiter of nations, " the ſhadow of God upon earth, the guide of the " kings who profeſs the religion of the Meſſiah, the moſt " mighty of Chriſtian kings, he who keeps peace be- " tween the Muſſulmans and Chriſtians, protector of " the boundaries of Alexandria, obſerver of the precepts " of the goſpel, inheriting from his father a mighty " kingdom, iſſue of the lineage of David and Solomon: " May the bleſſing of Iſrael be upon our prophet, and " upon them; may their felicity be laſting, their power " permanent, and their mighty forces always formidable: " To the mighty lord, exalted by his power, venerable " for his merits, diſtinguiſhed by his ſtrength and wealth " among the Muſſulmans, the refuge of all that reve- " rence him; whoſe prudence governs and guides the " army of the noble empire, and commands upon its " frontiers, the victorious viceroy of Egypt, the confines " of which ſhall always be defended and reverenced, " So be it: And to all illuſtrious princes, judges, doc- " tors, and other officers who are conſtituted for the " ſupport of order and government, and in general " to all potentates; may God preſerve them in their " high ſtations, and in the dignity of ſalvation. It is " known to you, that our anceſtors have never been at " enmity with other kings, nor ever given them any " moleſtation, or ſhown any token of malice; but on " the contrary afforded proofs of their friendſhip on all " occaſions; in generouſly aſſiſting them, in relieving " their neceſſities, whether in matters relating to the ca- " ravan and pilgrims of Mecca, in Arabia the happy, in

" India,

" India, Perſia, or other remote and unfrequented pla-
" ces; in ſuccouring thoſe who laboured under preſſing
" neceſſities. Nevertheleſs the king of France, our bro-
" ther, who profeſſeth the ſame law, and the ſame faith,
" having been moved by ſuch tokens of amity exhibited
" on our part, as ought to be practiſed; and having ſent
" an ambaſſador to us, I am informed that you have
" ſtopped him at Sanaar, and alſo Morad the Syrian,
" ſent by us to the ambaſſadors, whom you have put
" under an arreſt, and have by ſo doing violated the
" law of nations. Since the ambaſſadors of kings ought
" to be at liberty, and to paſs where they will, and to be
" treated with honour, and not hindered or moleſted;
" neither ought any dues or tribute to be exacted from
" them. It is in our power to return the injury, if we
" pleaſed to revenge the inſult offered by you to our
" meſſenger. The Nile might be made the inſtrument
" of our vengeance, God having placed in our hands
" its fountain, its paſſage, and its increaſe, and put it in
" our power to make it do good or harm. At preſent
" we require and exhort you to ceaſe from offering any
" injury to our ambaſſadors, and from diſquieting us by
" ſtopping thoſe who are on their way to us. You ſhall
" ſuffer them without hindrance to continue their jour-
" ney, going and coming freely, according to their own
" convenience, whether they be our ſubjects or thoſe of
" France; and whatever you ſhall do to them, we ſhall
" eſteem done to ourſelves."

Subſcribed.—*To the pacha, princes, and lords commanders in the city of Grand Cairo, whom God favour with his mercies.*

This letter is written in Arabic without date.

The crime of Teklimanout, in robbing his father of his crown and life, made him deteſted by all mankind. His reign was ſhort and unquiet; and ended at laſt in his being aſſaſſinated by his own troops as he was preparing to march againſt the king of Sanaar. Tetilis, the brother of Ayaſon or Jaſon, ſucceeded him; and after a reign of three years and ſome months, was dethroned by Ouſtas his ſiſter's ſon, and his firſt miniſter. Ouſtas was ſoon depoſed by David, the ſecond ſon of Ayaſon. All theſe revolutions happening in a very ſhort time, prevented the Abyſſins from puniſhing the murder of Mr du Roule. The French conſul, who had borne the greateſt part in the direction of this embaſſy, ſought all opportunities of revenging the envoy's death; and calling the French merchants at Cairo together, told them how he had been cut in pieces in ſight of the king of Sanaar; animating them to join with him in ſeeking ſome means of revenging ſo public an injuſtice. They immediately came to an agreement to diſcharge all the Nubians that were in their ſervice. A memorial was likewiſe given to the Baſſa, who was going to take upon him the command of Suaquem and Mazua, and that ſide of Ethiopia, entreating him to lend his aſſiſtance in the puniſhment of the king of Sanaar, for a crime committed againſt the law of nations; and in the recovery of thirty thouſand piaſters, and four thouſand ſequins, which the envoy had with him at the time when he was killed. The largeneſs of this ſum is a ſufficient proof at how vaſt an expence this mighty deſign of penetrating into Abyſſinia, and of eſtabliſhing a trade, and the Catholic religion in that country, is to be carried on; a deſign which, to all who have any knowledge of that empire and its inhabitants, will appear chimerical and impracticable.

A

A DISSERTATION UPON Mr LUDOLF's HISTORY OF ABYSSINIA.

I KNOW not any man in Europe who has applied himself to the ſtudy of the Abyſſin language with ſo much aſſiduity as the late Mr Ludolf. He hath laboured in it near ſixty years with very little aſſiſtance, and without being diſcouraged by any difficulties. If this language be not more known in Europe than it is, or is likely ever to be, it is not to be imputed to him, who has ſpared no pains to facilitate the ſtudy of it. He has given us a grammar and a dictionary, and has inſerted in his hiſtory long paſſages written in that language, extracted out of manuſcripts; yet all this hath not yet prevailed with many to become his diſciples. We have ſcarce any intercourſe with the Abyſſins. It is difficult to paſs into their country, and ſtill more difficult to paſs out of it; and had not the Portugueſe been at ſeveral times called into Abyſſinia, we had known no more of it than we do of the more inland kingdoms of Africa, or of thoſe ſouthern countries into

which no man hath yet entered. Beſides there are very few writings in that language, either printed or manuſcript. The Abyſſins, excelling in no kind of literature, have publiſhed ſcarce any books; and thoſe which they have publiſhed cannot be procured. No man would employ his life in maſtering a language of no uſe either in commerce or learning. The example of Mr Ludolf himſelf, far from giving any invitation to that ſtudy, is ſufficient to divert any ſuch deſign; for, after having made the knowledge of that tongue his principal employment, after having laid out all his time upon it, and read every thing that could be found written in it, he had not been in a condition to write ten pages of the hiſtory of Abyſſinia, had he not had recourſe to that of father Baltazar Tellez, a Portugueſe Jeſuit.

Gregory, that learned Abyſſin, on whom he heaps ſo many commendations, is certainly a very bad guide; and we cannot help ſaying, that either Mr Ludolf and Gregory did not underſtand one another, or that Gregory was very ignorant in his own religion; for no Abyſſin, who had enjoyed the leaſt advantages of inſtruction, ever embraced thoſe ſentiments or declared them. But whatever might be his qualities, the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez, who hath taken ſo much care to tranſmit to poſterity the names of thoſe that adhered to him, hath not ſaid a word of him. This omiſſion is no proof that he had greater abilities, or an exacter knowledge of his religion, than others; and his whole conduct, and all his anſwers to Mr Ludolf, are contradictions to the many praiſes beſtowed upon him. Where this Abyſſin fails him, Mr Ludolf produces another evidence whoſe authority is of equal weight. This is Murat the Armenian, who, when he was trading at Batavia, was examined at Mr Ludolf's requeſt, about the preſent ſtate of religion in Abyſſinia.

Murat,

Murat, whoſe thoughts were more upon his merchandiſe than any thing elſe, was not very capable of making any ſatisfactory anſwer to their enquiries; nor can I eaſily perſuade myſelf that he would have gratified them with an exact information, though he had been able to do it. This was the man who impoſed upon the Hollanders with promiſes of a wealthy commerce on the coaſts of the Red ſea, as hath been already related.

But what need there was of the teſtimony of either Gregory or Murat is not eaſy to underſtand; nor can any juſt reaſon be aſſigned, why he did not rather conſult the liturgies which he had in his poſſeſſion; why he neglected to publiſh them when he was preſſed to it; why he wrote to Batavia rather than to Cairo; and enquired of the Dutch merchants rather than of the patriarch of Alexandria. We ſhould wonder at the conduct of that man, who ſhould write to Armenia for information about the religion of the Moſcovites; and ſhould addreſs himſelf to the Armenian traders rather than to the patriarch of Moſcow. There would be ſtrong reaſons for ſaying, that if his ſearch was after truth, he took very uncommon methods to diſcover it; yet in this manner has Mr Ludolf acted, and has been guilty of the greateſt abſurdities in his account of the creed of the Abyſſins.

Several learned men were diſſatisfied with Mr Ludolf's work; and amongſt the reſt Mr Piques, one of his correſpondents, wrote his opinion to him with ſo much freedom, that, notwithſtanding the friendſhip between them, it was the occaſion of a difference. Some of the letters that paſſed between them having been communicated to the Author of theſe Diſſertations, by father le Quien, the reader may not be diſpleaſed with an extract from them.

Mr Ludolf obſerves to Mr Piques, the neceſſity of a nice diſcernment to diſtinguiſh truth from falſehood in

the relations of the Abyſſinian affairs; and remarks how little credit is to be given to the narratives of the miſſionaries, who prove their zeal for the Catholic religion by inventing falſe accounts, or by depending upon falſe information; ſome from ignorance and unſkilfulneſs, others from inſincerity and diſregard of truth: and charges Wanſlab of having been guilty of the latter in thoſe accounts of Egypt which he hath publiſhed in Europe; loading both his writings and his perſonal character with the ſevereſt cenſures. He ſpeaks of a collection of the ſubſcriptions of the eaſtern biſhops, teſtifying their belief of the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, kept in the Abbey of St German. On this he lays no great ſtreſs; and declares it as his opinion, that the eaſtern churches, if they hold a tranſubſtantiation, believe only that the bread is changed into the body of Chriſt, according to his words literally taken,—*This is my body which is given for you*; and not into his perſon as conſiſting of ſoul and body, of the divine and human nature; and conſequently, that ſince they do not imagine it transformed into the divine nature, they do not adore it as God. The ſoul and divine nature of our Saviour (they ſay) was not given for us; and therefore, admitting the literal ſenſe of the words, the bread is not transformed into that nature. He approves the notion of Mr de Piques, that, in order to arrive at the knowledge of the religion of any country, their catechiſms and liturgies ought to be conſulted; and that is not ſafe to depend upon depoſitions procured *prece vel pretio*, by entreaties or bribes, or anſwers made to queſtions propoſed by one party, without admitting thoſe of the contrary opinion to uſe the ſame method of examination. He ſays, that the ambaſſador who procured this heap of teſtimonies, by convening an aſſembly of biſhops and prieſts, who ſubſcribed to theſe opinions,

might

might have ſaved both his labour and his money, if he had only made extracts of their confeſſions, catechiſms, and liturgies, which would have ſufficiently explained their true ſentiments. He concludes with a poſtſcript, that Mr de Piques does him wrong in imagining he gives more credit to the Armenian, than to Wanſleb or Olearius.

Mr de Piques, in his anſwer to Mr Ludolf, obſerves, that to inform one's ſelf of the religion of a country, it is not ſufficient to enquire of the firſt man that can be met with; that application ought to be made to thoſe who profeſs it, and that even the anſwers of one of thoſe can never be a ſufficient foundation for a poſitive aſſertion, unleſs corroborated by the authority of more; that it is unfair to embarraſs them with ſtudied and ſophiſtical interrogatories; and that the moſt probable way of diſcovering the truth, is to deſire a plain narrative account of their opinions and practice, and to act as if we were deſirous of being their converts. There is nothing in this conduct (ſays he) of artifice or inſidiouſneſs. He then taxes Mr Ludolf with a neglect of this method, and with endeavouring, by various queſtions, to enſnare Gregory, and draw from him an anſwer conformable to his own inclinations; and remarks with an air of triumph, that the anſwers of Murat the Armenian are not agreeable to the character of ignorance given him by Mr Ludolf. He relates a converſation with two gentlemen, who, having read Mr Ludolf's book, make no difficulty of inſinuating that he has been defective in impartiality and ſincerity; and, in a ſecond letter, after ſome compliments, purſues his deſign of proving the ſame opinions to be held by the Ethiopian as by the Roman church.

Theſe two letters were written with ſo much heat and zeal in defence of the Roman church, which he perceived attacked, that Mr Ludolf could not bear the free-

dom taken with his character; and his reſentment roſe ſo high, that their correſpondence was entirely broken off.

Theſe letters may furniſh us with inſtances of ſome inconſiſtency in Mr Ludolf's conduct, who has given the world the anſwers of the Armenian Murat, or Morad, as an authentic and ſatisfactory account of the preſent ſtate of Abyſſinia, particularly with reſpect to religion. He is pleaſed to forget that the Armenian merchants, who, like Murat, ramble over the world, ſeldom have any other religion than their traffic. But when, in a private correſpondence, he is preſſed to declare the truth, he confeſſes that the Armenian is a man ſo ignorant, that, like Mahomet, he neither could write nor read; and adds in the concluſion of his letter: You do me wrong if you imagine I give more credit to the Armenian than to Wanſleb or Olearius. How Mr Ludolf will reconcile this character of his informer, with the regard which he has ſhewn to his information, is not eaſy to diſcover. He has publiſhed the anſwers of this illiterate Armenian, in thirty-two folio pages, with the pompous title of *A new Account of the preſent ſtate of Abyſſinia, lately brought from the Indies.* It was ſure with ſome other intention than of ſwelling his volume, or of ſhewing, that, beſides his knowledge of the Ethiopic language, which was of little uſe to him in compiling his hiſtory, he had nothing that could recommend him to the eſteem of the world.

His anſwer to the ſecond queſtion propoſed to him is a ſufficient proof either of his ignorance or his falſehood. Being aſked who was the preſent king of Abyſſinia, what was his name, and who were his progenitors? He anſwers, That Suſuens, who embraced the Roman religion, after having ſtruggled with many bloody wars and inteſtine commotions, died in the year 1632, leaving his kingdom involved in calamities; but his ſon Baſilides, having

having thrown off the religion of Rome, and expelled the fathers of the miſſion, reigned thirty-two years undiſturbed; and by many victories re-eſtabliſhed the power of the Abyſſins, then almoſt expiring, and reſtored his kingdom to a flouriſhing condition. Murat, it is evident, was either himſelf unacquainted with the ſubject he talked of, or knowingly impoſed upon the enquirers, when he told them of the quiet reign of Baſilides. The perſecution of the Jeſuits began in 1632, they were expelled in 1634, after which many miſſionaries and Catholics were put to death. The many calamities that happened to the kingdom are related in a letter of father Bernard Nogueira, which affords abundant proof that king Baſilides was guilty of putting his brother to death, and of ſending to the king of Yemen for Mahometan preachers to convert his people; ſo that Mr Ludolf has no juſt reaſon to call in queſtion facts ſo well atteſted. But he ſometimes ſupplies a deficiency in his memoirs out of his own imagination, and expects of his readers that they ſhould be ſatisfied with weak reaſons, when he has no ſtronger to offer. While Mr Ludolf had Gregory with him, he made him ſay what he pleaſed; and Gregory was his only favourite. He procured his picture to be engraved, and wrote his encomium. Now, ſays he, we come to Gregory the Abyſſin, to whom we are indebted for a great part of our Ethiopic hiſtory, and for a more exact knowledge of the Abyſſinian tongue. He had in his youth applied himſelf to learning, and ſuch was his proficiency, that he acquired great reputation among his countrymen, and was dignified with the title of Abba.

Mr Ludolf would have been perhaps much at a loſs, if it had been demanded, what courſe of ſtudies this celebrated Abyſſin had paſſed through; and what became of his

his genius after he arrived at Germany; for, however he may praiſe him, he ſometimes makes him ſpeak like a man whoſe genius was not very elevated, or learning very extenſive; and has himſelf very much diminiſhed his encomiums in the preface to the laſt edition of his dictionary. As to Gregory my Abyſſinian, ſays he, whoſe authority I ſometimes made uſe of in the preface to my former edition, he, though a man of ſome learning, was often doubtful about the ſignification of words which more rarely occur, and of very many was entirely ignorant, as he made no ſcruple to confeſs in his letters and converſation. This is the doctor whom Mr Ludolf conſults and follows in his account of the religion of Abyſſinia. This is the man whoſe authority he prefers to the liturgies that were in his hands, and which he was importuned to make public. No man, it is true, in Europe, hath ever equalled, or perhaps ever will equal, Mr Ludolf in the knowledge of the Ethiopic language; but that knowledge hath been of no great advantage to him in writing his hiſtory. As to any uſe it might have been of to the church, Mr Ludolf's inſincerity hath deprived us of it. The Abyſſins are Jacobites, but he hath repreſented them as Lutherans or Calviniſts; and while he endeavours to excuſe ſome abuſes which have crept in amongſt them, charges them with erroneous tenets which they do not hold. He hath transformed the church of Abyſſinia into an imaginary church, which hath no exiſtence, but in his own imagination.

John Michael Wanſleb, whom Mr Ludolf treats with ſo much ſeverity, was a native of Erford; who, having learned the Ethiopic language under Mr Ludolf, was ſent by the Duke of Saxony, to paſs, if poſſible, into Abyſſinia, and collect all the liturgies he could meet with; Mr Ludolf having inſinuated to this prince, that thoſe

liturgies

liturgies would furniſh ſome arguments in favour of Lutheraniſm. Wanſleb could not go into Abyſſinia, but met, however, with a great number of liturgies, part of which he purchaſed; and, upon examining them, was convinced of his errors; and, being converted, took the Dominican habit at Rome. Afterwards, going into France, he was preſented to Mr Colbert, by Mr Boſquet biſhop of Montpelier, as a perſon of extraordinary ſkill in the oriental tongues. That miniſter, whoſe chief enquiry was after men capable of executing thoſe grand deſigns he had formed, of ſpreading his maſter's glory through the world, was in extacies at meeting this man, whom he ſent very ſoon into the Levant, with a commiſſion to purchaſe all the oriental manuſcripts he could find. Wanſleb bought above five hundred manuſcripts and ſent them to the king's library, but could not purſue his orders of paſſing into Ethiopia. He returned to France in 1676, and died a few years after.

He had printed at London, in 1661, the liturgy of Dioſcorus, patriarch of Alexandria; and publiſhed in 1671, before he embarked in his ſecond voyage, a project or liſt of the books he propoſed to publiſh in the Ethiopic language, with an account in Italian of the preſent ſtate of Egypt. And after his return, he gave the world a journal of his voyage to Egypt in 1672 and 1673, and after that an hiſtory of the church of Alexandria.

Whoever reads theſe works will be ſurpriſed to find him ſpoken of by Mr Ludolf with ſuch an air of contempt; though Mr Ludolf was his maſter in the Ethiopic language, there were many things in which he might have been his ſcholar. After all, Mr Ludolf is not to be refuſed the praiſes he deſerves, for having applied himſelf with ſo much diligence and labour to the ſtudy of a language, which, before his time, had been very little known in Europe.

DIS-

DISSERTATION II.

UPON

ETHIOPIA OR ABYSSINIA.

THE ancients have called all thoſe countries that extend themſelves beyond Egypt, on each ſide of the Red ſea, indifferently India or Ethiopia. Strabo tells us, that the country on the ſouth coaſt was named Ethiopia; which appellation, though theſe regions have ſince taken ſeveral names they have long preſerved. In ſcripture, all the black nations are called Chus, which word not only by the author of the vulgar, but likewiſe by all the interpreters, as well Greek as Latin, is univerſally rendered Ethiopia, or Ethiopian. We read in the 12th chapter of Numbers, that Aaron and Miriam were extremely enraged at Moſes for having married an Ethiopian woman. Now Sephora, the wife of Moſes, and Raguel her brother, were Midianites; which puts it beyond all controverſy, that the country now called Arabia, was heretofore called the eaſtern Ethiopia, to diſtinguiſh it from the Ethiopia of Afric. The eaſtern people, on the contrary, called thoſe kingdoms India, which we call Ethiopia, or Abyſſinia. Both their hiſtorians, and the Greek and Latin writers ſay, that St Frumentius, who travelled into Ethiopia, was ſent by St Athanaſius to India; and that the

Indians

Indians had desired bishops from Simon the Syrian, patriarch of Alexandria. And the Persians to this day call an Ethiopian Siah, Hindou, or Hindi. It is difficult to assign the exact limits of the Asiatic Ethiopia on the east side, we are only certain that it was separated from that of Africa, by the Red sea. Thus Theodoret having asked who the people of Saba were, the answer is, they are a nation of Ethiopia. "It is said, that this nation inhabits "the coast of the Indian sea; they are called Homerites, "and are opposite to the Axumites, with nothing but "the sea between them. That admirable woman was their "queen whose zeal hath been praised by our Saviour Je-"sus Christ. Philostorgus places the Sabæans among the "nations of India. The Sabæans, a people of India, so "named from Saba the capital of their country, are the "same with the Homerites." L. 3. C. 4.

These Sabæans or Homerites were a powerful nation, and possessed a country of wide extent, between the Persian and Arabian gulf; and so numerous were their people, that it is pretended the Abyssins are a colony from them. In this almost all authors agree. Uranius in Stephanus, Byzantinus, Ptolemy, and Arrian, even place the Abyssins in Arabia. It is yet highly probable, that this excursion was made long before these historians and geographers, and perhaps before the Sabæans or Homerites were known, or distinguished by those names. Eusebius declares, that the Abyssins removed out of Asia into Afric in the time that the Jews were in Egypt, that is about the 2345th year from the creation of the world. Syncellus places this migration somewhat later, about the age of the judges.

Diodorus of Sicily, however, maintains, that the Ethiopians never knew any other country than that which they inhabit; and that they never had been corrupted by foreign

foreign cuſtoms; but the Abyſſins are ſo different from the neighbouring nations, that no man will ſuppoſe they have the ſame original. The Abyſſins are well ſhaped, their features are commonly ſufficiently regular, their eyes large and lively, their colour rather olive than black, and their hair long, which they have a thouſand ways of dreſſing. The women of diſtinction are there tolerably white. The other Ethiopians have noſes big and wide, thick lips, and hair curled like wool.

Auleddin Aboulfadhi, ſurnamed Aſſiouthi, hath written two books on thoſe people, which the Arabs comprehend under the general name of Soudans, or blacks; one of theſe books is one continued encomium on the Ethiopians, whom he ſtiles flowers that grow round the thrones of the Sultans, becauſe thoſe princes generally employed them near their perſons, and in offices of the greateſt truſt. Whatever is the reaſon, there hath always been a great intercourſe between the Abyſſins and Sabæans, or Homerites. The paſſage from one kingdom to the other is neither long nor difficult, and perhaps they have been formerly under the ſame maſter, and the queen of the South may have ruled over all theſe countries. Theodoret, Procopius of Gaza, and Procopius of Cæſarea, call them equally Ethiopians; diſtinguiſhing thoſe of Aſia by the addition of Homerites, and thoſe of Africa by that of Axumites, from Axum, or Axuma, the capital, in former times, of Abyſſinia.

The Ethiopia of Africa hath been of much greater extent than that of Aſia. Homer tells us, that it reached from one ſea to the other, and beheld both the riſing and the ſetting ſun. It is now divided into three parts; the weſtern Ethiopia, containing the kingdoms of Congo, Angola, and Benguela; the eaſtern Ethiopia, of which father John des Santos, a Portugueſe Dominican, hath given

given us a large and curious hiſtory more than an hundred years ſince. This diviſion extends from Sofala to Cape Gardafui, and runs far up into the inland parts. The third is upper Ethiopia, of which the reader hath here met with an account, and which I am endeavouring to make more known.

Abyſſinia heretofore extended itſelf from the ſeventh degree to the 17th; and compriſed thirty-ſix kingdoms and provinces: but its territories are much contracted ſince the revolt of the Galles, which began about the year 1537. So that the emperor of Abyſſinia now is only maſter of the kingdoms of Tigre, Dambia, Bagameder, Goiam, Amhara, part of Choaa, and Narea; with the provinces of Mazaga, Salent, Ogara, Abargale, Seguade, Olcait, Semen, Salaoa, Holeca, and Doba.

The kingdom of Tigre is the moſt conſiderable part of Abyſſinia. Its length, from Mazua to the deſart of Aldoba and mount Semen, is three hundred Italian miles; its breadth, from the province of Bur to the ſame deſart, is near equal. Axum, or Axuma, which the Portugueſe, who firſt viſited this country, called by corruption Cachumo, or Chaſſumo, hath been the capital of this kingdom and of all Abyſſinia, and hath in ſome meaſure given its name to the whole country. As the Abyſſins were heretofore ignorant of the uſe of the line, the buildings of this city could not be very extraordinary; yet there may ſtill be ſeen the remains of a magnificent temple, which have ſupported themſelves againſt the injuries of time. It is an hundred and ten feet in length, it had two wings on each ſide, and a double porch, with an aſcent of twelve ſteps; the emperor, when he is crowned here, ſits on a throne of ſtone in the inner porch. Behind this temple are ſeveral obeliſks of different bigneſs; ſome of which have been thrown down by the Turks, others are yet ſtanding.

ſtanding. Among the rubbiſh is a great ſquare ſtone, on which appear the remains of an inſcription, ſo effaced by time that it is not legible; and nothing can be diſtinguiſhed except ſome Greek and Latin letters, and the word Baſilius.

Three leagues diſtant from Axum is Fremona, the firſt and principal ſeat of the Jeſuits, formerly called Maegoga, from the murmur of a rivulet that runs near it, which the fathers changed to that of Fremona, in honour of St Fremona, or Frumentius, the apoſtle of the Abyſſins. There is reaſon to believe that this place, already illuſtrious by the death of the holy father Andrew Oviedo patriarch of Ethiopia, and other venerable miſſionaries, would have increaſed in reputation, had it pleaſed God to have continued his bleſſing to the Ethiopian miſſion.

The patriarch Alphonſo Mendez pretends, that there are forty-four governments in the kingdom of Tigre. Mr Ludolf reckons up but twenty-ſeven, and ſeven maritime governments; which, being ſeparated from the general viceroyſhip of the kingdom, have a peculiar deputy aſſigned them, with the title Bahr Nagus, or Intendant of the ſea.

The kingdom of Angote is almoſt entirely laid waſte by the Galles, and only a ſmall part of it is now ſubject to the emperor. The kingdom of Bagameder lies weſtward of Angote, and extends to the Nile. It is now only ſixty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth. It was formerly much larger; but ſeveral provinces are now diſmembered from it, as Abargale, Semen, Ogara, Segued, Olcait, and joined to the kingdom of Tigre. Amhara is ſituate ſouthwards from Bagameder, from which it is divided by the little river Baixillo, as it is on the eaſt by the Nile from Goiam. It is divided into ſeveral little countries, and hath paſſed for the moſt valuable of all

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the Abyſſinian kingdoms. In this kingdom is Guexon, the famous rock, (the happy valley of the tranſlator's Raſſales), on which the ſons and brothers of the emperor were confined till their acceſſion to the throne. This cuſtom, eſtabliſhed about 1260, hath been aboliſhed for two ages.

The kingdoms of Holeca, and Chaoa or Xaoa, are divided on the eaſt from Goiam by the Nile; on the weſt are Chaoais, Oifate or Ifate, and on the ſouth of theſe kingdoms are thoſe of Fategar, Ogge, Gaus, and Amut, which is ſomewhat more remote, and borders upon Narea, the fartheſt province of Abyſſinia to the ſouth-weſt; which was governed by its own princes, till it was ſubdued by Sultan Segued, who made the kings hereditary governors; nor have the emperors of Abyſſinia any ſubjects more faithful or obedient. It is ſaid that this country produces abundance of gold. Thoſe natives of Narea who have been converted, are good Chriſtians, but there are ſtill great numbers of idolaters. Ogara is ſituated more to the north than almoſt any of theſe kingdoms, and lies between Olcait, Segued, Tigre, Bagameder, and Dambia; it is of much greater length than breadth, and hath nothing in it remarkable except the mountain of Lamalmon. In the time of the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez, the kings of Abyſſinia generally reſided in the kingdom of Dambia, which was a ſtrong reaſon for the Jeſuits eſtabliſhing themſelves there. The houſes and the churches which they built have been no prejudice to the beauty of the country. Sultan Segued gave to the patriarch, Enfras with its whole territory, who choſe to reſide for the moſt part at Depſan, about a league from the lake of Dambia, and equally diſtant from Dancas, where Sultan Segued generally kept his court.

The kingdom of Goiam, which is made a peninſula

by being almoſt encompaſſed by the Nile, hath been thought by the Jeſuits, for that reaſon, to be the Meroe of the ancients. Mr Ludolf, on the contrary, maintains, that Goiam cannot be the iſle of Meroe; becauſe nothing related of Meroe by Diodorus of Sicily, Strabo or Pliny, is applicable to that kingdom; Meroe being much nearer Egypt. The ſtrongeſt reaſon he offers is, that if Meroe had been Goiam, and the ancients had known that country, they muſt have conſequently known the ſource of the Nile. The greateſt part of the authorities alledged by him rather ſhew his learning than prove his opinion. Solinus ſays, that Meroe is the firſt iſland formed by the Nile, and that it is ſix hundred miles diſtant from ſea. If father Jerome Lobo may be credited, from the ſea to the head of the Nile is a journey of twenty days length. From Mazua to the Agaus are an hundred and fifty Portugueſe leagues, which are at leaſt ſix hundred Italian miles. Mela, as corrected by Salmaſius, ſays very near the ſame with Solinus. Pauſanius writes, that the Greeks and Ethiopians, who had been beyond Syene and Meroe, reported, that the Nile entered a great lake, and after it had paſſed through it traverſed the whole country of Ethiopia: all this is very agreeable to the kingdom of Goiam. Voſſius, who is of opinion that Goiam is not Meroe, affirms, that the river now called Mareb is the Aſtaboras of the ancients; and that the capital of Meroe is a city, Baroo or Baroa, ſituated in the ſixteenth degree, 22 minutes, where the Bahrnagaſh generally reſides: the neighbourhood of Syris or Syene confirms this opinion; for the way from Egypt to Meroe lay through Syene, which was ſomewhat above two hundred French leagues diſtant from it. But Voſſius is miſtaken in affirming that the Mareb falls into the Tacaza; for the Mareb loſes itſelf in the ſands. And

I am more inclined to believe that the Aſtuſapes, mentioned by Pliny, book 5th, is the Mareb. If the Aſtaborus be, as Pliny ſays, on the left of the Nile, it is probably the Melecca; and then the notion of the learned father Harduin, who places Meroe between the Nile and the Melecca, will have a greater appearance of truth than that of Voſſius. But, after all, the ancients were ſo little acquainted with this part of Ethiopia, and the accounts they have left us of the iſle of Meroe are ſo different and confuſed, that there is as much reaſon for affirming as for denying that it was Goiama.

Mr Ludolf, I know not for what reaſon, has left out the nation of the Agaus in his account, who are mentioned by other writers, and of whom father Jerome Lobo hath ſaid ſo much. This people inhabits about the fountains of the Nile, and is not to be confounded with another nation, of almoſt the ſame name, that dwells in the mountains of Laſta, and revolting from Sultan Segued engaged him in a bloody war.

A man is not to expect in Ethiopia either valuable pictures, or beautiful ſtatues, or buſts of admirable workmanſhip, or grand buildings. There is not a city in the empire. Their houſes are nothing but cabins built of clay and ſtraw. All the polite arts are utterly unknown here, and nothing is to be met with but nature ſavage and uncultivated.

Here are mountains of ſo ſtupendous an height, that the Alps and Pyreneans, which ſeem to us to riſe into the ſky, are hillocks if compared with Guza, which yet is but the baſis of Lamalmon. Theſe two mountains are in the confines of Tigre and Dambia, and are to be paſſed over by thoſe who travel from one kingdom into the other.

When the traveller has ſurmounted the fatigue of climbing mount Guza, he finds an agreeable plain, where

he repoſes himſelf before he attempts Lamalmon. From theſe mountains, he enjoys a free proſpect of the whole kingdom of Tigre, where Semen, and the other mountains which croſs and divide it into ſo many places, appear little more than molehills.

The kingdom of Amhara is yet more mountainous, the Abyſſins call thoſe ſteep rocks Amba. There are many of them which appear to the ſight like great cities; and one is ſcarcely convinced, even upon a near view, that one doth not ſee walls, towers, and baſtions. It was on the barren ſummit of Ambaguexa, that the princes of the blood-royal paſſed their melancholy life, being guarded by officers who treated them often with great rigour and ſeverity.

The father Balthazar Tellez tells a ſtory which deſerves not to be forgotten on this occaſion. One of theſe guards, an exact and ſevere man, obſerving one of the princes to be better dreſſed than the reſt; and to take care of his cloaths, not only informed the emperor, but tore the ſuit, and threatened the prince to procure him one he ſhould be leſs pleaſed with. Some time after that prince mounted the throne, and ſending for the officer, preſented him with a magnificent habit, and bade him return to his charge, with theſe memorable words: "As "you have ſerved my father, I hope you will ſerve me. "You have hitherto done your duty, I approve of you; "continue to do it." Such examples are illuſtrious and rare, and Ethiopia may boaſt of more officers thus ſevere, than princes thus generous. The higheſt of all theſe mountains, according to the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez, is Thabat-Mariam, which is vaſtly large, and riſes far above the clouds; its foot is watered by two rivers. Here are ſeven churches, of which that of the invocation of St John is extremely wealthy. It was formerly

merly the burying-place of the kings of Abyſſinia; and there are ſtill to be ſeen five tombs hung with tapeſtry, wrought with the arms of Portugal, which are ſuppoſed to be thoſe hangings which king Emanuel preſented to the emperor David.

Among ſo many craggy mountains, the air cannot be always alike; and perhaps there is no country in the world in which ſo many different ſeaſons may be found in ſo ſmall a compaſs. Along the coaſts of the Red ſea, and twelve leagues within the country, the winter begins in December and ends in February, and the rains in that time are not much. Higher in the country, July, Auguſt, and September, are the three winter months.

The heats are not exceſſive in Abyſſinia, notwithſtanding its ſituation between the line and the tropic; and if the land doth not produce great abundance of every neceſſary of life, it is to be attributed not to the ſterility of the ſoil, but to the lazineſs of the natives.

The rivers bring down, with their ſtreams, ſome grains of gold, which gives room to ſuſpect that the mountains are full of it; and that there is no want in this country of either metals or other minerals: but whether reaſons of ſtate, as ſome imagine, or careleſſneſs be the cauſe, they have never yet diſcovered any mines. The little gold to be ſeen in Abyſſinia is brought from the province of Narea, or received in their ſmall traffic with the other Ethiopians who have great plenty of that metal. The moſt valuable mineral in Abyſſinia is ſalt.

DISSERTATION III.

ON THE

NILE.

THE greateſt men of antiquity have paſſionately wiſhed to find the head of the Nile, and have thought, after all their conqueſts, that their glory was not complete without this diſcovery. Cambyſes loſt in this ſearch much time and great numbers of men. When Alexander conſulted the oracle of Ammon, the firſt enquiry he made was after the ſources of the Nile; and having afterwards encamped at the head of the river Indus, which he imagined to be that of the Nile, was overjoyed at his ſucceſs. Ptolomy Philadelphus, one of his ſucceſſors, carried his arms with this view into Ethiopia, where he took the city of Axuma, as appears by the inſcriptions preſerved down to us by Coſmas Indopluſtes, which he copied upon the ſpot, in the time of the emperor Juſtin the firſt.

Lucan puts it into the mouth of Cæſar, that his higheſt ambition is to diſcover the head of Nilus, and the cauſes that act upon it, which have been a ſecret to ſo many generations; and that, could he be aſſured of enjoying the ſight of its fountains, he would bid adieu to the civil war.

——*Nihil*

——Nihil eſt quod noſcere malim
Quam fluvii cauſas per ſecula tanta latentis,
Ignotumque caput; ſpes ſit mihi certa videndi
Niliacos fontes, bellum civile relinquam.

Nero had the ſame deſire upon other motives, and ſent out whole armies to make the diſcovery. The report brought back to him took away all hopes of ſucceſs.

The ancients, having thus to no purpoſe ſought after the head of this river, and the cauſes of its inundations, have had recourſe to fable, and have endeavoured to conceal their ignorance by inventing myſteries. The interpreters of the Holy Scriptures have not been themſelves free from this error; who, knowing no other Ethiopia than that of Africa, have imagined that Gihon, mentioned in Geneſis, is the Nile; and not daring to contradict the ſcripture, which ſays that the Gihon, riſing in the terreſtrial paradiſe, waters the land of Chus or Ethiopia, have conducted it under lands and ſeas, and made it appear again in Ethiopia.

Great numbers of learned men have laboured to clear theſe fables, and have invented many different hypotheſes for this purpoſe. Mr Huet, biſhop of Avranches, maintains, in his treatiſe on the terreſtrial paradiſe, that the Gihon is an eaſtern branch of the Euphrates, which, taking its riſe from the country of Eden, paſſes along that of Chus, called even at this day Chuſ-oſtam. He adds, that Homer makes it deſcend from Jupiter, and that this is the reaſon that Plautus ſays of a river which he doth not name, that its fountain is in heaven, and ſprings up under the throne of Jupiter.

There is no reaſon to wonder that the poets have honoured the Nile with a divine original. The Egyptians, who are indebted to its inundations for the fertility of

their ſoil, after having made the river a divinity, thought themſelves, as well as the Gymnoſophiſts and Ethiopians, obliged to ſtand in defence of their ancient errors, how abſurd ſoever; and therefore built temples, raiſed altars, and appointed feſtivals to his honour, and paid their adorations to him under the name of Oſiris.

The Jews and Mahometans, however averſe from idolatry, have yet attributed a peculiar bleſſedneſs and ſanctity to its waters; and we find in the foregoing relation, that the Agaus, who inhabit the country round about its ſources, though inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, continue ſtill to offer ſacrifices to the river. In this manner does obſtinacy and folly ſupport thoſe ſuperſtitions and idolatries which ignorance introduced.

The Nile hath paſſed under various names in different ages, and in different countries through which it runs, not being called Nilus, ſays Pliny, B. 5. C. 9. till it collects its diſunited ſtreams into one channel, and even then, for ſome miles, keeping the name of Siris. It is called in general by Homer Egyptus, and by others Triton. Pliny doth not tell us whether the Nile firſt gave the name to Egypt, or received, like many other rivers, its name from the country it waters. Heſychius affirms, that the Nile, being originally called Egyptus, communicated its name to that kingdom. Egyptus, however, was not the firſt name it was known by, for it was firſt called Oceanus, then Actus or Aquila, afterwards Egyptus, and ſince, from its having borne thoſe three names, Triton. At length it came to be known, both to the Greeks and Romans, by no other appellation than that of Nilus. The fathers Payz and Lobo inform us, that the Abyſſins call this river Abavi, or the father of waters; and according to Pliny, it takes the name of Siris in paſſing through Syene. The Egyptians, who aſcribed the wonderful fruitfulneſs

fulneſs of their country to its waters, called it by the venerable names of the Preſerver, the God, the Sun, ſometimes the Father.

Mr Ludolf maintains, that Abavi does not ſignify father in the Abyſſinian language; obſerving, at the ſame time, that it would be a very improper name, becauſe the Nile receives part of its waters from other rivers that diſcharge themſelves into it, as the Tacaza and the Mareb, but no river takes its riſe from the Nile. He ſays farther, that in that dialect which the men of learning make uſe of, it is named Gejon, and thinks it might be ſo called from the Gihon which Moſes ſpeaks of in his deſcription of paradiſe. Vatable, in his expoſition of the word Cuſch or Ethiopia, ſays it is to be underſtood of eaſtern Ethiopia. The Nile or Gejon does not encompaſs all Ethiopia, but only one part of it, the kingdom of Goiama.

Coſmas the hermit, whom we have quoted, is the firſt that hath informed us of the true way to the head of the Nile; who having been in Ethiopia, hath made appear by the account which he hath given, that he was acquainted with the country. Yet father Peter Payz, a Portugueſe Jeſuit, was the firſt European who had a ſight of the two ſprings which gave riſe to this celebrated ſtream, and therefore I imagine moſt will be pleaſed to meet with his account of it, as preſerved to us by father Kercher, another famous Jeſuit.

On the 21ſt of April, in the year 1613, I accompanied, ſay he, the emperor, who was then at the head of his army in the kingdom of Goiama; he was encamped in the province of Sacala, in the country of the Agaus, near a little mountain that did not ſeem of any conſiderable height, becauſe it was ſurrounded by others much higher. As I was looking round about me with great attention, I diſcovered two round ſprings, one of which might be about

two

two feet diameter; the ſight filled me with a pleaſure which I know not how to expreſs, when I conſidered that it was what Cyrus, Cambyſes, Alexander, and Julius Cæſar, had ſo ardently and ſo much in vain deſired to behold. I did not perceive any other ſpring towards the top of the mountain. The ſecond ſpring breaks out about a ſtone's caſt weſtward from the firſt. The natives affirm that the whole mountain is full of water, and I am inclined to the ſame opinion, for the ground ſhakes, and the water boils up under foot round about theſe ſprings. The water, having a ſteep fall, runs with great rapidity to the foot of the mountain, ſo that the fountains never flood the ground. The inhabitants told me, that the year having been extremely dry the mountain was obſerved to quake, and that ſometimes the trembling was ſo violent that it was dangerous to walk upon it, which was confirmed by the emperor. Below the top of the mountain, a league from the ſpring, is the village of Guix, which appears to the ſight but a ſhort cannon ſhot diſtant. The mountain is of a difficult aſcent, except on the north ſide.

A league from the mountain ſprings another rivulet, which ſoon loſes itſelf in the Nile. It is imagined to riſe from the ſame fountain, and to run under ground for ſome ſpace; it runs eaſtward, and afterwards turning to the north, receives another brook, which, riſing among the rocks, is enlarged by two others that ſpring towards the eaſt; and the Nile, being augmented by all theſe petty ſtreams, ſoon ſwells into a conſiderable river; and after continuing its courſe a day's journey, receives a large increaſe from the Gemma, a river no leſs than itſelf; it ſoon after declines to the weſt, but turning again eaſtward, it enters a lake which it croſſes with great impetuoſity, preſerving its water unmixed. Having paſſed through that lake, it wanders through a long maze of windings

windings to the ſouth, and waters the plains of Alaba. About five leagues from the lake it falls fourteen feet down a precipice, with ſo much violence, that at a diſtance all the water ſeems to be turned into miſt and foam; a little after, it is ſo confined among the rocks that it can ſcarcely be perceived, for they approach ſo near to each other, that, with the help of a few beams and planks, the king and his whole army paſſed over it.

This river, after having left the kingdom of Bagameder on the eaſt, runs through Amhara, Olaca, Schava, and Damota, with the countries of Bizamo and Gumancana, and almoſt ſurrounds Goiama, returning within a day's journey of its original ſource, and afterwards traverſing the kingdoms of Fazalo and Ombarca, which Razzela Chriſtos conquered in 1613, naming them Ayſolam or Hadiſalem, that is the New World, in alluſion to their vaſt extent, and to their being ſo little known before to the Abyſſins. The Nile, afterwards bidding farewel to Abyſſinia, after having paſſed through ſeveral kingdoms, falls at length into Egypt, and diſcharges itſelf into the Mediterranean.

Father Payz having nothing more concerning the courſe of the Nile, and ſcarce ſaying any thing of it after it hath left Abyſſinia, I chooſe to preſent the reader with the account which Mr Ludolf received from Gregory the Abyſſin, taking notice only of that part of the letter which relates to its paſſage after it is out of the Abyſſinian dominions.

After it has run between Bizamo and Goiam, it enters the country of the Shankelas, then turning to the right, leaves on the left the weſt part of the land, and paſſes through Sanaar, having already received the Tacaza which riſes in the kingdom of Tigre, and the Gangua which comes from Dambia. From Sanaar it enters the

the country of Dangola, and flows into Nubia, afterwards turning ſtill more to the right, it comes into the country of Abrim, where all the veſſels ſtop that paſs up the ſtream from Egypt; the rocks, which interrupt ſo frequently the courſe of the river, making it impoſſible to ſail any higher.

I cannot comprehend the diſtinction made here between Sanaar and Nubia, one being only the ancient, the other the modern name. We have already given an account of the Nile from Cairo to Dangola, out of the letter of father Brevedent.

The Nile afterwards, ſays he, enters Egypt, it bounds on the eaſt the countries of Sanaar and Nubia. Thoſe who come down out of Abyſſinia and Sanaar into Egypt, keep always the Nile on the right hand; and when they have travelled through Nubia, croſs, upon camels, a deſart fifteen days journey over, where nothing but ſand is to be found; then arriving at Rif, or Upper-Egypt, they quit their camels, and paſs the remaining part of their way upon the water. Some go by land on foot.

The Nile, continues the ſame Gregory, receives as it runs all other rivers both great and ſmall, except the Hanazo, which riſes in the kingdom of Angolé, and Aoaxe, or Hawaſh, which runs through the kingdoms of Dawara and Falegar.

It is not unlikely that the Hanazo, mentioned by Gregory, is the ſame river that runs by mount Senaf, where the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez and his companions had their firſt pleaſing interview with father Emanuel Baradas.

The patriarch has deſcribed this river as one of the moſt agreeable that the world can boaſt of, where the traveller is delighted with trees and aromatic herbs that flouriſh along its banks.

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The account which the patriarch gives of the other rivers, being at leaſt as curious as any thing that Gregory tells us of the Nile, ſeems to deſerve to be ſet down in a compendious manner.

The Nile receives ſeveral rivers, the moſt remarkable of which are the Baxilo or Bachilo, which divides the kingdoms of Bagameder and Amhara; the Gulcem, which bounds the ſame kingdom of Amhara and Oleca; the Maleck and Auguer, which, having joined their ſtreams, water the countries of Damot, Narea, Bizamo, the Gafates, and the Gongas. The Tacaza, called by the ancients Aſtaboras, hath three different ſources near the mountains, which ſeparate the two kingdoms of Angote and Bagameder; it runs towards the weſt through the deſart of Oldeba, then entering Dambar, falls into a large bed of ſands; and afterwards, having croſſed part of the kingdom of Decan, diſcharges itſelf into the Nile. It is ſaid, that beſides crocodiles and river-horſes, there are in this river abundance of torpedos, which immediately benumb the arm of any man that touches them. The Mareb, riſing two leagues from Debaroa, falls, after a long courſe, from a rock thirty cubits in height, and ſinks under ground; but in the winter it runs through many other provinces, and by the monaſtery of Alleluja, and then loſes itſelf. The army, when they invaded theſe regions, dug into the ſand, and found under ground both good water and excellent fiſh.

The Aoaxes is not leſs than the Nile at its beginning, and is increaſed by the Machy and the lake Zoay; but the natives, whoſe country it waters, cut the main ſtream into ſo many channels, that it is by degrees entirely loſt, yet is ſuppoſed to be conveyed by ſubterraneous paſſages into the Indian ſea.

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The river Zebea, though leſs known, is equally conſiderable with the Nile itſelf. It riſes in Boxa, a province of the kingdom of Narea, and firſt falling eaſtward, turns afterwards to the north, and encompaſſes almoſt the whole country of Gingiro; afterwards, turning to the eaſt through many barbarous and unknown regions, diſembogues itſelf into the Indian ſea near Mombaza.

There is no great difficulty, ſince we are informed of the head of the Nile, and the rivers that fall into it, in giving an explication of thoſe wonders which have perplexed both the ancients and moderns, who conſulted themſelves inſtead of the country, and were bewildered in their own reaſonings and imaginations.

The circumſtance which they were moſt in pain about, was the increaſe and overflow of this river, the cauſes of which they were in hopes of finding by contriving imaginary ſyſtems, which are now of no other uſe than to mortify the aſpiring pride of man, to ſhow how contracted is his boaſted knowledge, and how vainly he reaſons upon ſubjects which his ſenſes have not made him acquainted with.

Diodorus Siculus, having given a deſcription of the Nile in the third chapter of his Bibliotheca, comes in the fourth to treat of its increaſe; and collects all the opinions he had heard of thoſe that went before him, beginning with that of Thales Mileſius, one of the ſeven ſages, who tells us that the violence of the north winds, which the Greeks call Eteſians, oppoſing the paſſage of the waters, forced them over their banks. But, ſays Diodorus, if this ſolution were true, all the rivers that run from ſouth to north would overflow in the ſame manner. Anaxagoras, and Euripides his diſciple, imagine that the inundation is owing to the melting of the ſnow; but, as he obſerves, there are no ſnows upon

upon the mountains of Ethiopia. Beſides, if the Nile were increaſed by the melting of ſnow, the air would be colder, and the river would be hid in miſts; when, on the contrary, it is peculiar to the Nile, that it is not at any time covered with miſts or fogs. Democritus appears to have approached neareſt the truth, though Diodorus confutes him like the reſt; for he ſays, that the north winds, which blow ſometime before the overflow, bring ſnow with them out of colder countries, which, being diſſolved into rain, falls in ſuch quantities about that time as ſwell the river beyond its channel.

It has been the opinion of many, that there is a ſubterraneous communication between the Nile and the ſea, and that the inundation happens when the ſea, being violently agitated, forces the waters into the channel of the Nile. Other accounts, even more improbable, have been invented; and very few have ſatisfied themſelves with the true and natural ſolution of this problem given of old by Strabo, St Athanaſius, and Coſmas Indopluſtes who has written of Ethiopia with more accuracy than any other, and ſince by the Portugueſe Jeſuits, whoſe relations, ſo well atteſted, leave us no room to doubt of the real cauſe, the great rains which fall at that time in Ethiopia.

There is much talk of the goodneſs of the water of the Nile; and it is ſaid, that though it is never perfectly clear, it is yet extremely light and wholeſome. Galen tells us, that women with child who drink of it have eaſy labours, and bring often two, three, and even four children; that the ſheep and goats, which feed upon the banks, breed greater numbers than in any other place. Every one knows that the fertility of Egypt depends upon the overflows of the Nile, and that the year is bad when it riſes leſs than fourteen cubits, or more than eighteen,

eighteen, and that it is good when the water ſtands at ſixteen.

There remains another doubt to be diſcuſſed, whether it be in the power of the Abyſſinian emperor to turn the ſtream of the Nile, ſo as to prevent it from watering Egypt. Some pretend, upon the authority of Elmacin, that it is not only poſſible, but that it has in ſome degree been put in execution. That the Calif Muſtanſir ſent Michael, the patriarch of Alexandria, into Abyſſinia, who, being received with the higheſt honours by the emperor, informed him that the intent of his journey was to remonſtrate, that the Nile was ſunk ſo low in Egypt that the country and inhabitants ſuffered extremely; and the emperor, in reſpect to the patriarch, ordered a mound to be broke, upon which the water increaſed three cubits in one night; the channel was ſoon filled, and the whole country laid under water, and fitted to receive the ſeed. The patriarch, at his return into Egypt, was received with great tokens of reſpect by the ſultan, who preſented him with a long robe.

This account of Elmacin they endeavour to ſupport by a relation of the vaſt and ſtupendous project of Alphonſo d'Albuquerque, who had conceived the ſame deſign of turning the Nile into a new channel, which, if we credit his ſon, he was upon the point of executing, when king Emanuel, at the inſtigation of his enemies, recalled him. To effect this, ſays he, nothing more was required than to dig through a little mountain that lies along the Nile in the country of Preſter-John. He had often written to his prince to ſend him ſome pioneers from the Maderas where they are accuſtomed to level mountains, that they may water their ſugar canes. He adds, that this might be done, becauſe Preſter-John earneſtly deſired it, but did not know what meaſures to take.

take. That if it had been effected, which he makes no doubt of if his father had lived a little longer, both the Upper and Lower Egypt had been laid in ruin. If the Arabs, continues he, who inhabit the deſerts between Canaum and Cazuer, have been able, upon any difference that aroſe between them and the ſultans of Egypt, to interrupt the courſe of the Nile, much more eaſily might Alphonſo have done it, aſſiſted by the power of Preſter John.

In this manner the ſon of Alphonſo d'Albuquerque relates his father's deſign; but his account is not altogether ſatisfactory. The country of Cazua may without difficulty be cut through; and, what much facilitated the enterprize of the Arabs, there is already a channel through which the Nile diſcharges part of its waters into the Red-Sea. Abyſſinia is ſo far from affording any ſuch advantages, that it is, above any country in the world, filled with mountains to which the Alps and Pireneans are mere hillocks. The Nile never approaches within leſs than an hundred leagues of the ſea in any part of Abyſſinia. There are ſeveral rivers between them, as the Tacaza, which receives many others, and doth not join itſelf to the Nile but in the 20th degree, which is four degrees beyond the moſt northern part of Abyſſinia. The place where the Nile makes its neareſt approaches to the ſea, is in the 22d degree, on this ſide Dancala; and even there, all along the coaſts, extends a long chain of mountains, which ends at Rif. There is therefore no probability that the emperor of Abyſſinia can divert the courſe of the Nile.

Mr Ludolf nevertheleſs, though the impoſſibility of cutting a paſſage for the Nile into the Red-Sea through ſo many interpoſing mountains appears from his own

map, eſpouſes the part of Alphonſa's ſon againſt Father Tellez, who has demonſtrated the vanity of ſuch an undertaking, and ſpeaks of it like a man who conſidered that the enthuſiaſm of heroic ſpirits hurries them ſometimes beyond the limits of prudence, and engages them in enterpriſes not warrantable by right reaſon.

As to the relation of Elmacin, to which Mr Ludolf ſeems to give credit, he would, I believe, have found it no eaſy matter to have informed us, what became, during the time in which the Egyptians complained of famine, of the waters of the Nile; by what channel they paſſed into the Red-Sea; and by what means, and in what place, the king of Ethiopia dug this channel.

Had Mr Ludolf been ſufficiently acquainted with the hiſtory of the patriarchs of Alexandria, he would have found this favourite narrative loaded with more difficulties, and liable to new objections. He would have diſcovered, that an author almoſt contemporary, in his life of the patriarch Michael, ſays not a word of this journey; that Muſtanſir died within a year after the ordination of Michael; and that, during that time, there was no famine in Egypt. So that the hiſtory related by Elmacin, and by Mucriſius after him, is plainly invented only to amuſe.

It is obſervable that the kings of Abyſſinia are ſtill perſuaded that the keys of the Nile are in their hands, and that they can, when they pleaſe, change its courſe, as the king Teklimanout threatens the Baſſa of Cairo, in a letter already given in the ſequel of the hiſtory: But however they may threaten, it is now impoſſible, and was no leſs impoſſible in the days of Albuquerque.

We do not pretend that a canal cannot be dug from the Nile to the Red-Sea, but that the Abyſſins cannot do

do it. It was attempted heretofore by Necus the ſon of Pſammeticus, and atchieved by Darius king of Perſia, who made a channel, if Herodotus be credited, four days ſail in length, and of the breadth of two galleys. Afterwards Ptolemy Philadelphis cauſed another to be dug, an hundred feet in breadth, and forty in depth, which he carried on as far as the Bitter Fountains, about 37 miles; then diſcovering that the Red-Sea was three cubits higher than the land, he broke off his deſign for fear of laying Egypt under water. Yet the author of the coſmography written in the conſulſhip of Cæſar and Anthony affirms, that in his time part of the Nile ran into the Red-Sea near Ovila.

Long after, Omar II. who kept his ordinary reſidence at Medina, gave orders, in a time of famine, to Amru who conquered Egypt, to cauſe a canal to be dug from Cairo to Coltzum; which project was put in execution. But Medina ceaſing afterwards to be the reſidence of the califs, and being reduced to a ſmall number of inhabitants, the conſumption of proviſions grew much leſs, and the canal, becoming leſs neceſſary, was neglected, and by degrees choaked with ſand. The Arabs call that canal Khalige Emir Al Moumenin, or The Canal of the Caliph.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

EASTERN SIDE OF AFRICA,

FROM

MELINDA TO THE STRAIT OF BABELMANDEL.

THE country into which father Jerome Lobo went in queſt of a paſſage into Ethiopia, is ſo little known to us, that I cannot think it impertinent to enlarge a little upon what he hath told us.

The viceroys of the Indies have had formerly governments of very large extent ſubordinate to them, in which deputies were placed under the title of Captain-Generals. He that commanded in the Iſle of Ceylon ſtyled himſelf king of Malvana. The other governments were Malaca, Ormus, and Mozambique, which is the only one which the Portugueſe have now left them; having loſt Malaca, Ceylon, and the Spice Iſlands, to the Dutch, and Ormus being retaken by the Perſians, aſſiſted by the Engliſh.

The Iſle of Mozambique, with which I ſhall begin firſt, lies in 15 degrees ſouth. It is half a league in length, and a quarter in breadth: the citadel which defends the port, being placed at the mouth of it, is one of the beſt in the Indies, having four large towers,

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two on the land and two on the ſea-ſide, and being furniſhed with large magazines of ammunition, proviſion, and every thing needful for a long and vigorous defence, if an enemy ſhould attack it. Beſides the unwholeſomeneſs of the air, the inhabitants, which, to the number of about 2000, poſſeſs this uncomfortable place, undergo great inconveniencies for want of wood and water, the latter of which they are forced to fetch at three leagues diſtance. The governor hath all the trade in his own hands, which conſiſts of elephants and ſea-horſes teeth, and gold brought by his agents from the river of Sofala. This iſland, wretched as it is, ſupplies all the coaſt with proviſion, cloth, and other merchandizes brought thither from the Indies.

The coaſt of Melinda begins at the Cape del Gado, which is ſix degrees ſouth, and runs upwards towards the cape of Guardafui. The city of Melinda, the capital of that country, hath been accounted one of the moſt beautiful in all that quarter of Africa, which our geographers call Zanquebar. It is ſituated in a ſpacious and agreeable plain, the houſes being well built of hewn ſtone. When the king of Melinda goes out, he is carried upon the ſhoulders of the principal perſons of his court, and the ſtreets through which he paſſes are perfumed: and when he enters into any city of his dominions, the moſt beautiful of the young virgins go out to meet him, ſome throwing flowers before him, ſome burning perfume, and others ſinging verſes to his praiſe; nor do the prieſts on this occaſion forget to ſacrifice.

The Portugueſe loſt in 1631 the Iſle of Mombazo, where they had built 17 churches, and the governor of Melinda had fixed his reſidence. The king of this place ſurpriſed the fortreſs, and turned Mahometan in

order to procure the affiſtance of the Moors. Beyond the city of Melinda is the Iſle of Lamo, which breeds great numbers of aſſes of a larger ſize than uſual, but of leſs uſe. Near Lame is the Iſle of Pate, large and fruitful, which is governed by three kings of Pate, Sio, and Ampaſa, who reſide each in a city which gives the name to their territory. Ampaſa was far the richeſt of the three.

It was formerly inhabited only by Moors; who were ſo haughty, ſo cruel, and ſuch implacable enemies of the Criſtians, and particularly the Portugueſe, that they were obliged to declare war againſt them. The king of Ampaſa being killed in a battle, this city was taken, plundered, and burnt, and the palm-trees which grew round it were cut down. His head, fixed upon a lance, was carried through all the ſtreets of Goa. The fate of the king of Lamo was even more deplorable, who being accuſed of having delivered Roc de Brito with about 40 Portugueſe to the Turks, was arreſted by the captain-general, whom he viſited; and being carried by him to Pate, had his head cut off publicly on a ſcaffold, in the preſence of the kings of Pate, Sio, and Ampaſa, who were obliged to be preſent at the melancholy ſpectacle.

Father Jerome Lobo tells us, that after he left Pate, he travelled along the coaſt, part by ſea and part by land, and hath given an account of what he obſerved; but as he followed the courſe of the ſhore, without daring to go far from the ſea-ſide, he could not tell us any thing of thoſe nations which inhabit the country a little higher. The moſt conſiderable of theſe are the Moſſegueios, who are not much leſs rude and uncivilized for being the allies of the Portugueſe. The young people among them have a cuſtom ſufficiently barbarous

barbarous and uncommon. At the age of ſeven or eight years, they fix upon their heads a lump of clay in form of a cap; and as the clay dries, and they grow bigger, more is added, till at laſt this kind of cap weighs eight or ten pounds: this they are not ſuffered to be without night or day; neither are they admitted to any conſultation till they have ſlain an enemy in battle, and brought his head to their commander.

Theſe Moſſegueios were formerly vaſſals and peaſants who revolted from their lords. They live chiefly on the milk of cows. This people having defeated and killed a king of Mombazo, made his kingdom tributary to the king of Melinda.

On this coaſt, towards the north of Brava, is Magadoxa. After having doubled the Cape of Guardafui, the traveller meets with the ports of Methe, Micha, and Barbora, and then arrives at the kingdom of Adel, the capital of which is called Auca. This kingdom is called Zeila by the Portugueſe, from a port of the ſame name. As Father Jerome Lobo only paſſed along the coaſts of Sofala, Mozambique, and Melinda, he hath omitted many particulars relating to the natural hiſtory of theſe countries which may afford ſome entertainment to the reader, and therefore deſerve to be inſerted.

This country ſupplies the merchants with great quantities of gold, ivory, the teeth of ſea-horſes, and cocoas; and other things of great uſefulneſs and curioſity are found here: nor is it eaſy to determine whether the ſea or land be moſt fruitful in theſe extraordinary productions.

There are more ſugar-canes on the banks of the Cuama and Sofala than in Braſil; but the Cafres have no art of bruiſing them, eat them as they are naturally

produced, and make no advantage from them in traffic. Caſſia is very common, and not much eſteemed by the Cafres, who have other purgatives of greater virtues, and prepared with leſs trouble. There is one wood which, powdered and taken in a glaſs of water, ſtops a flux of blood, and another which cures all kinds of ſores. Its qualities are ſuch, that it clears the wound in 24 hours of all foulneſs or clotted blood, and cures it in a very ſhort time without the application of any other remedy. There is another wood in this country, which, powdered and taken by men, brings milk into their breaſts, and enables them to give ſuck like women.

They have likewiſe an herb called by the Portugueſe Dutro, by the Cafres Banguini; which has this wonderful quality, that, taken in meat or drink, it entirely deprives a man of reaſon, and continues him for the ſpace of 24 hours in the ſame temper which he was in when he took it. He that ſwallowed it in a gay humour is entertained with pleaſing images, and is continually burſting out into fits of laughter and flights of merriment. But he whom his ill fate tempts to taſte it in a melancholy diſpoſition, protracts the gloomy moments, and gives the woes of life a longer duration; nothing can he utter but ſighs and complaints, or apprehend but miſery and misfortune, till the force of the drug is exhauſted, and he awakes from his dream of ſadneſs. No one retains any remembrance of any thing ſaid or done by him while he continued thus intoxicated.

Thoſe who are ſo daring as to bathe in thoſe rivers that are infeſted by crocodiles, fortify their bodies by rubbing with an herb named *miciriri:* this, as they imagine, puts theſe deſtructive animals to flight; and the

the notion among them is, that if the crocodile ſhould attempt to bite them, his teeth, at the touch of their bodies thus ſecured, would become ſoft as wax.

Four leagues from the Cape del Gada is the leaſt of the Iſles of Quirimba. In this iſland grows the tree from which manna is gathered, which is nothing but a kind of dew congealed, which appears on the trunk like candied ſugar, and on the leaves like pearls.

The author hath ſaid ſo much already of the uſefulneſs of the palm, that I ſhall not enlarge upon what has been written by him, but ſhall content myſelf with ſaying ſomething of the cocoa of the Maldives, and the tree which produces it. It is not improbable that the Maldive iſlands and Ceylon have formerly been one continued tract of ground, the ſea being at this day very ſhallow between them; in which are to be ſeen palm-trees procreated from thoſe that grew there before the deluge, and which are likely to continue there for ever. Theſe trees, which are now to be ſeen in the bottom of the ſea, bear the ſame fruits which they bore formerly; for the ſalt-water, far from being noxious to this plant, contributes to its fertility, which is the reaſon that thoſe trees which grow near the ſhore produce a larger number of fruits, though leſs excellent, than thoſe which are planted at more diſtance from it. When the cocoa is ripe, it ſeparates from the tree, and is carried by the waves to each ſhore, where the inhabitants heap them up, and ſell them, as an excellent antidote, at a large price.

Theſe ſeas produce amber, pearls, and coral. Amber grows at the bottom of the ſea, and ſcarce ever is found but in tempeſtuous weather, when the violent agitation of the waves breaks it off, and drives it upon the ſhore, where the Cafres, who come down after every

every ſtorm in expectation of finding it, gather it carefully. There are three ſorts of amber, the black, the brown, and the white, which is called *ambergriſe*. How this ſubſtance is formed, hath been long diſputed; ſome maintaining that it is a gum which, diſtilling from the tree, is hardened in the water: but to make this hypotheſis bear any ſimilitude of truth, we ought to find trees of nearly the ſame ſpecies in all thoſe countries where amber is gathered, and Nature ſhould have raiſed the ſame productions on the coaſts of the Baltic as of the Ethiopic Sea; but this does not appear. Whales and other fiſhes eat amber, but do not produce it, though it is believed that black amber, which is of little value, may be the excrement of whales that, having eaten pure amber, void it blackened and corrupted. It is reported that a little veſſel, bound from Mozambique to the Iſle of St Laurence, anchoring all night at 20 fathoms, drew up with her anchor next morning a large piece of amber, and that other ſhips have had the ſame unexpected ſucceſs. Father Dos Santos tells us, that in 1596 they found near Bravo a piece of amber ſo high that a man could not look over it. It is ſcarce credible that pieces of ſuch weight and bulk ſhould be voided by any animal in the world, or ſhould be any wax or gum hardened in the water. Every rational man will think it much more probable, that it is formed like other minerals under the water; and that the ſubterraneous fires, according to the different properties of the earth they act upon, produce this and other foſſils.

Coral is a plant that grows in the bottom of the ſea, and is ſo ſoft when firſt drawn up, that a juice may be preſſed out of it not unlike that which drops from the branch of a fig-tree newly broken off, but of a cauſtic nature; and

and by an harder preſſure the pores through which it iſſues may be diſcovered: the coral by being expoſed to the air grows hard. The chief fiſhery for it is near Tabarca in the Mediterranean; ſome has been found near Toulon, and likewiſe in the Red-Sea, and in the neighbourhood of Cape del Gado.

Though we have determined that amber is not the excrement of whales, it is not to be imagined that we deny any whales to be in the Ethiopian Sea: there are not only whales, but another kind of fiſh more rare, with which the whale is always at war, and is often killed by her. This fiſh is called by the Portugueſe *eſpadarte* from the ſword which ſhe has at her ſnout, which is flat and long, with teeth like a great ſaw. When the whale and eſpadarte or ſword-fiſh encounter, they appear on the top of the water, and the ſword-fiſh ſpringing upwards, darts his ſword ſtrongly againſt the whale, and often wounds him. The whale is ſaid to attack ſometimes the gelves, and other little veſſels, which he is ſuppoſed to miſtake for the ſword-fiſh his enemy, and to overturn them if not prevented.

In this ſea are likewiſe found great numbers of tortoiſes of various ſpecies, who have like the whale a mortal enemy called the *ſapi*, which perſecutes them perpetually; he lives among the rocks near the ſhore, and is about a foot long; his neck is covered with a ſhell three fingers broad; his ſkin is almoſt black. When the fiſhers have taken a ſapi, they put him into a bucket full of water, and tie a long line to his tail; then throw him into any place where they expect tortoiſes, and if he can faſten upon any, they draw them out together; for the ſapi will not quit his hold,

hold, nor doth the tortoiſe if once ſeized make any reſiſtance.

Of the river-horſe, ſo much hath been ſaid already that little needs be added to the former deſcription: his teeth are more valuable than elephants, becauſe they are whiter, and preſerve their whiteneſs longer. Theſe creatures are found not only under the line, but even in the polar circle, where they hide themſelves under the ice. As to the elephant, ſcarce a traveller who has ſeen the eaſtern parts of the world has forgot to tell us of his ſagacity; and therefore any thing here would be unneceſſary. Although all the Portugueſe writers have reckoned the rhinoceros among the animals of Ethiopia, yet none of them affirm that they have ſeen him, or been eye-witneſſes of the dreadful combats between him and his irreconcileable enemy the elephant.

Some of them confound him with the abada, or bada, of which father John dos Santos hath written very largely. The abada has two horns; one planted on his forehead about two feet long, of a blackiſh colour, ſmooth, and very ſharp, with the point a little turned upward; the other on the hinder part of his head, thicker and longer; he is about the bigneſs of a colt of two years old. His bones powdered and mingled with water, make a cataplaſm of wonderful efficacy, which draws the poiſon out of any wound, and entirely cures it.

The zeura is a creature peculiar to Abyſſinia; his whole body is diverſified with black and white ſtreaks of an equal breadth, which are as ſoft as ſilk; he has a kind of wool about his feet; when he runs he puts his head between his legs, and at firſt kicks out his heels very much. The Emperor of Abyſſinia frequently

ly accompanies an embaſſy with a preſent of this animal.

The zeura is often confounded with the wild aſs, which is leſs, and hath horns and cloven feet like a deer, with a white ſtreak, which runs down his ſhoulders and thighs to his knees; his hair is aſh-coloured and very rough, his fleſh tender and delicious: The Cafres call him *merus*.

It has been a queſtion a long time, whether there be ſuch a creature as the unicorn; thoſe who have given an account of him have varied ſo much in their deſcriptions, and filled their narratives with ſo many fables, that they have reaſon on their ſide who have doubted of the exiſtence of this animal, which indeed is very rare, and found only in the kingdom of Damot and in the province of the Agaus. He is wild, but ſo far from being fierce or dangerous, that he never dares truſt himſelf but in company with other creatures. When he changes his haunt, he runs from one foreſt to another with ſo great celerity, that he is immediately ſnatched out of ſight, which has been the occaſion of ſo great a diſagreement in the accounts of him, ſome affirming that he has thick and long hair, others that it is ſhort and thin; that he has a long horn in the midſt of his forehead is agreed by all, but it is not ſo certain that this horn is an excellent antidote: whenever a horn has been found of that efficacy, there is room to doubt whether it was the horn of an unicorn.

There are wild horſes in Ethiopia, with an head and mane like ours, and reſembling them in their neighing, but with two little horns and cloven feet: The Cafres call them *empophos*.

The giraffe is the talleſt creature in the world; though

though leſs bulky than the elephant; his legs are ſo long that a man on horſeback may paſs without ſtooping under his belly. He is called by the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez *ſtruthio camelus*, as Mr Ludolf maintains improperly.

If the ninga be not the bird of paradiſe, it is at leaſt very like it, being about the bigneſs of a pigeon, yellow and green; his legs are ſo ſhort that they are never ſeen. He reſts upon trees which he eats the fruit of; and when he would fly away throws himſelf off, and in falling opens his wings and mounts into the air; if he ſhould light on the ground he could not raiſe himſelf; when he drinks he ſkims over the ſurface of the water without ſtopping.

It is ſaid that in Mexico there is a bird called by the natives *cincoes*, which lives upon the dew; his plumage is of ſeveral colours, and extremely beautiful, of which the Indians make pictures with ſo much art and exactneſs, that they can be but faintly imitated by the moſt ſkilful pencil.

The curvanes has wings of the moſt beautiful black, and a belly as curiouſly white, a long neck, and on his head a large tuft of black feathers with a plume riſing half a foot above it; his feathers are all even, which he ſpreads into a kind of umbrella as the peacock expands his tail: he is eſteemed ſo much by the Cafres and Ethiopians, that they ſtyle him the *king of birds*.

DIS-

DISSERTATION IV.

ON

PRESTER-JOHN.

IT hath been a long diſpute whether the meaning of the word *Preſter-John* be *Prieſt-John*, or *Precious John*; whether the Emperor of Abyſſinia were known by that name before the Portugueſe gave it him; whether the true Preſter-John were not a king in Cathay or India, and an Aſiatic rather than an African monarch.

Writers have taken much pains to aſſign a remote original to a name of which the French who travelled into the Holy Land were certainly the inventors, as may be made appear. It may not, however, be improper to examine what the Portugueſe have ſaid on this ſubject.

The Infant Don Henry, ſon of John I. King of Portugal, made the diſcovery of unknown countries his particular ſtudy, and was ſeconded in his inclination by the Duke of Conimbre his nephew. This prince having read in Marco-Polo of a powerful Chriſtian prince in Aſia called *Preſter-John*, had a ſtrong deſire of attaining ſome knowledge of him and contracting a friendſhip with him, but died before he was able to accompliſh his deſign. King John II. called by the Portugueſe *the perfect prince*, had the ſame inclination to know ſomewhat of this Preſter-John, and ſent

ſent in 1479 Peter Covilhan and Alphonſo Payva, with two Jews ſkilled in the Arabic language, to travel over the world in ſearch of him. Alphonſo Payva died on his journey, and left ſome memoirs, which his companions found at Cairo, and diſcovered from them that the Preſter-John, whom he had been inquiring after in Aſia, was the king of the Abyſſins. This news he wrote to the king his maſter, and paſſed into Abyſſinia, where he was known and confeſſed by Alvares. Since which time the Portugueſe having read thoſe authors, upon whoſe relations thoſe envoys inſtructions were formed, have been led into an opinion that they committed the error on purpoſe to impoſe upon their maſter, and that the real Preſter-John was a Neſtorian prince, who in eccleſiaſticals depended on the patriarch of Bagdat or Babylon.

John de Barros, Diego de Conto, the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez, the fathers Emanuel d' Almerda, and Balthaſar Telles, maintain together with Mr Ludolf, that the envoys were miſtaken; and Mr du Cange in his Obſervations on the Sire de Joinville has theſe words: "It is an old error which is now rectified, "that the empire of Preſter-John is the kingdom of "the Abyſſins in Africa; an opinion which may eaſily "be refuted from the teſtimony of the Sire de Join-"ville, who makes it evidently appear that the king-"dom of Preſter-John was in Aſia, and no other than "the Emperor of the Indies; which is confirmed be-"yond contradiction in an epiſtle of Pope Alexan-"der III. preſerved to us by Matthew Paris and "Brompton in the years 1180 and 1181, and another "letter of the prior of the order of preaching friars "in the ſame Matthew Paris." Mr du Conge cites

moreover the authorities of William of Tripoli and other writers.

The veneration which every man owes to the name of Mr du Cange, to whom learning is ſo much indebted, obliges us to give his opinion a candid examination, whatever reaſons there may be to differ from him.

The authority of the Sire de Joinville ought to carry great weight with it when he relates things which he was an eye-witneſs of; but we are not to reſign up ourſelves implicitly to an unthinking belief of what he reports upon the credit of others, eſpecially when we have teſtimonies more credible than thoſe which he depended on. It is to be conſidered that he wrote in his old age, a long time after the death of St Louis; and it is evident from the account given by him of the embaſſy which that king ſent to the Khan of Tartary, that thoſe ambaſſadors are more to be eſteemed for their eminent piety than their ſkill in geography; and that they tranſmitted to us as true hiſtories ſeveral traditions which others would have been inclined to call in queſtion, at leaſt to have examined with more exactneſs. And, to come more cloſely to the point, we ſhould willingly be informed where that country lies in the fartheſt part of Aſia, which it will take up a year to travel to from Antioch at the rate of ten leagues a-day, and where that ſtupendous rock is to be found, which no mortal hath yet been able to paſs over, which in the extreme part of the earth, with other rocks, confines the nations of Gog and Magog, who are in the laſt days to break forth, and come with Antichriſt to deſtroy the reſt of the world.

All that the Sire de Joinville has written on that ſubject relates to the defeat and death of Ung-can, and

the conqueſts of Chingiſcan or Gengizcan, whom he doth not name. In his relation are found two particular circumſtances, that the ambaſſadors found the ways filled with carcaſes and bones, and that a pretended prophet aſſured Chingiſcan that he ſhould ſubdue the whole earth. Mr Cange is obliged to quit his confidence in the Sire de Joinville, when he relates the election of Chingiſcan by arrows. He adds, that William of Tyre, who lived before the name of the Tartars was known, relates the ſame circumſtance of the Turks or Turcomans, who entering the dominions of the king of Perſia, fixed themſelves there.

Mr du Cange adds ſome miſtakes of his own to thoſe of his author; for he affirms that this firſt Preſter-John gave that name to the kings of India, and that he made 72 kings tributaries. This learned man confounds here the vanquiſher with the vanquiſhed. No man can pretend that Chingiſcan, who ſubdued ſo many ſpacious kingdoms, put ſo many Chriſtian princes to death, and founded the empire of the Moguls, was a Chriſtian; it was he, on the contrary, that, among the reſt, conquered this pretended Preſter-John, as the Sire du Joinville has written.

We come now to examine the authorities by which Mr du Cange endeavours to ſupport his opinion. The firſt which he makes uſe of is de Diceto an Engliſh hiſtorian, who lived in the reigns of King Richard I. and King John. This writer gives us an extract of a letter written by Pope Alexander III. to the king of India; which ſame letter is found entire in Roge Hoveden in the year 1177. It cannot be determined from this letter that the prince to whom it is addreſſed lived in Aſia rather than in Afric, or was Neſtorian rather than Jacobite; on the contrary, as it appears, that he de-

demanded a church at Rome for the people of his country, and the Abyſſins had formerly there the church of St Stephen, conſidering likewiſe that Abyſſinia is called by Marco Polo the Leſſer India, and that the ancients have confounded the Indians with the Ethiopians, there is greater probability that this letter was written from Abyſſinia than from any other country.

The letter of Geoffry a Dominican monk, given us by Matthew Paris 1237, is more formal, and ſeems ſo directly to favour the opinion of Mr du Cange, as to leave us without a reply. That monk gives an account of the care he had of the miſſions in thoſe parts; he ſpeaks in direct terms of Preſter-John, as a prince who then reigned towards Armenia: He mentions afterwards the Jacobites of Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia, and ſays that they have greater numbers of more dangerous errors than thoſe of Aſia. It appears by his whole letter, that he had received very exact information; and the author, who has preſerved it, lived at the ſame time.

Marco Polo, whoſe father had been a long time at the court of Tartary, and returned from thence in the year 1272, and who had himſelf been raiſed to high honours in the ſame court, and employed 17 years in important negociations, ſays in poſitive terms, that Ung-can who was defeated by Chingiſcan was the Preſter-John. And William of Tripoli, one of the dominicans who travelled into Armenia with the uncle and father of Marco Polo, tells us, as his opinion is reported by Gerard Mercator, that in the year 1098, Coirem Khan was emperor of all the Eaſtern Aſia; that after his death a Neſtorian prieſt made himſelf maſter of the province of Nujam, and afterwards of the whole

empire; that he was called *Preſter*, or *Prieſt*, in alluſion to his profeſſion, and *John* as it was his name; that after his deceaſe, his brother Vuth, under the name of *Vuth Khan* ſucceeded him, and was attacked by Chingis, who was a blackſmith.

We ſhall omit the teſtimonies of others who cannot add any authority to an opinion already ſo ſtrongly ſupported, and among thoſe of elder date, that of Mr d' Herbelot in his *Bibliotheque Orientale*, which was written ſince this book of Mr du Cange.

We are not to wonder, if upon the credit of theſe teſtimonies, Mr du Cange made no ſcruple to affirm, that the notion of the king of Abyſſinia being the Preſter-John was an old error which is now cleared up: Yet notwithſtanding the great name of ſo celebrated a writer, with ſo ſtrong reaſons on his ſide, we are not afraid to ſay, that this error, if it be one, is not yet ſo cleared but it may ſtill find thoſe who will ſtand up in its defence.

It is to be obſerved, that the teſtimonies produced are all of them from the Latins, who have corrupted their accounts with abundance of fables; and that Marco Polo wrote almoſt an hundred years after the death of Ung-can; and I know not for what reaſon he ſays of him that he is now generally called *Preſter-John, quem hodie Preſbyterum Johannem vocant.*

Abulfarage, a celebrated phyſician, almoſt contemporary with Chingiſcan, and who hath given us a general hiſtory of the Eaſt, ſpeaks of Ung-can in this manner. In the 1514th year of the epocha of Alexander began the empire of the Moguls in this manner: Ung-can of the tribe of Certit, who was called *King John*, commanded the tribes of the Oriental Turks, who profeſſed the Chriſtian religion; and had near

his perſon a ſucceſsful man of another tribe, named *Tamujin*, who had ſerved him with great fidelity in his infancy, and had defeated his enemies in many battles. The reputation of his valour raiſed him enemies, who made uſe of all their arts to diſcredit him with his prince; and never ceaſed to inſinuate ſomething to his diſadvantage, till they had made Ung-can ſuſpect him, and brought him to a reſolution of ſeizing him. Two of the king's domeſtics advertiſed Tamujin that a deſign was laid to attack him the following night. Tamujin gave orders to his people that they ſhould go out of their tents and leave them ſtanding, and himſelf lay in ambuſh at a little diſtance, with what forces he he had; and when Ung-can came early in the morning to ſeize him, and found the tents empty, Tamujin ruſhing out upon him and his followers, defeated, and put them to flight. He ſome time afterwards in a ſecond battle ſlew Ung-can, with a great part of his army, whoſe wife and children became a prey to the conqueror.

The ſame Abulfarage ſays, moreover, that while Chingiſcan was making great rejoicings for the conqueſt of Cathay, he loſt his brother Tuli, with whoſe death he was exceedingly afflicted, being paſſinately fond of him; and that in honour to his memory he decreed that his widow, the Queen Sarcutna, the daughter of Ung-can's brother, ſhould command his armies. This princeſs, he ſays, was extremely careful in the education of her children and government of her provinces; ſhe was prudent and faithful, and a ſtrict obſerver of the precepts of Chriſtianity; and ſhe had a great reſpect for prieſts, thoſe dedicated to religion, and never ſaw them without imploring their benediction. He concludes her character with a line of an Arabian

poet: *If the women would reſemble her, the men would loſe their ſuperiority.*

Abulfarage doth not ſay that either Ung-can or his brother were prieſts, or that either of theſe kings was called *Preſter-John*, though Ung-can was named *King John.*

Mr de la Croix Petit confirms, in his Life of Genghiſcan, the opinion of Abulfarage, as we ſhall ſhow in his own words: This (ſays he) was the ſame Ung-can who made ſo great a noiſe in the Chriſtian world, about the latter end of the 11th century, or rather of the 12th, under the name of *Preſter-John of Aſia*, a title attributed to him by the Neſtorians. There are yet to be ſeen circulatory letters from him to the Chriſtian princes. There is one to Pope Alexander III. to the king of France, to the emperor of Conſtantinople, and to the king of Portugal. They are all written in a very elevated ſtyle; and the author of them has attempted to give thoſe to whom they are addreſſed a high opinion of the power of the prince from whom they came, as the moſt mighty of all the Aſiatic kings. There is in France a copy of that which was ſent to Louis VII. father of Philip Auguſtus, but it doth not appear by the character to be above 300 years old. It begins with theſe words, *Preſter-John, by the grace of God, powerful above all Chriſtian kings.*

The following part of the letter is extremely pompous for a Keraite prince. He boaſts of his immenſe wealth, and the prodigious extent of his dominions, in which he includes the Indies and all the nations of Gog and Magog. He makes mention in haughty terms of 70 tributary kings who depend upon him. He enlarges upon the tribute which he exacts from a king of Iſrael, who has many Jewiſh earls, dukes, and princes ſubordinate

ordinate to him. He gives the king of France an invitation to viſit him, promiſing to put a large country into his poſſeſſion, and even to make him ſovereign after his own death of all his dominions. He takes notice in his letter of the different nations, and of the curioſities which are found in his territories; and, in ſhort, leaves nothing unſaid that might contribute to the idea of his greatneſs. He calls himſelf a prieſt from ſacrificing on the altar, and a king from adminiſtering right and juſtice. He ſpeaks of St Thomas in the end of his letter agreeably to the fabulous notions of the Indians; and concludes with deſiring the king to ſend him ſome valiant knight *of the generation of France.*

There is no great difficulty in diſcovering that theſe letters were ſuppoſitions and not written by Ung-can: The Neſtorians who inhabited this country in great numbers, where they had eſtabliſhed themſelves in the year 737 by the miſſionaries of Mouſſul and Baſſora, were the authors of them. They had ſpread a report among the Chriſtians that they had brought Scythia over to Chriſtianity, and that the true religion had been embraced by the greateſt of its monarchs, who was ſo entirely converted, that he had taken the prieſthood upon him, and had aſſumed the name of *John.* They added theſe circumſtances to give their fables a greater appearance of truth, and wrote thoſe high ſounding letters to make their zeal more applauded, and to procure the reputation of having converted ſo powerful a prince to Chriſtianity.

All the aſſiſtance that theſe letters can furniſh towards compiling an hiſtory is, that we learn from them, that it was believed at the time in which they were written, that this king was a powerful Chriſtian prince, and even a prieſt. We have a letter of the

Pope, in which he is called a moſt holy prieſt. There is nevertheleſs no appearance of his being a Chriſtian, although he allowed Chriſtianity in his kingdom, and part of his people who embraced it were permitted to have biſhops among them.

Thus far Mr de la Croix Petit, who cites here the very words of Rubriquis; which plainly make it appear that the Neſtorians impoſed upon the public in thoſe letters which they wrote concerning Ung-can, the pretended Preſter-John. "Et vocabant eum Neſtoriani "Regem Johannem, et plus dicebant de ipſo in de-"cuplo quam veritas eſſet; ſic ergo exivit magna fa-"ma de illo Rege Johane; et quando ego tranſivi per "paſcua ejus, nullus aliquid ſciebat de eo niſi Ne-"ſtoriani pauci." "The Neſtorians (ſays he) made "this prince whom they called *King John* much talk-"ed of, by reporting ten times more than was true; "and when I travelled through his country, none but "a few Neſtorians could give any account of him."

Carpin the Cordelier was ſent in 1246 to the Khan of Tartary by Pope Innocent IV.; and Rubriquis, who was likewiſe a Cordelier, went from St Lewis into Tartary about ſeven years afterwards; neither of theſe have given any prince of that country the title of *Preſter-John*. Marco Polo did not travel into that country till 20 years after them, and was the firſt and perhaps the only writer who has ſaid that Ung-can's brother was a prieſt.

After having ſpoken in the fifty-firſt Chapter of Preſter-John, he adds, that this mighty monarch, ſo renowned throughout the whole world, keeps his ordinary reſidence in the province of Tenduch, which tho' it be tributary to the Grand Khans, yet enjoys its own ſovereigns, who are of the race of Preſter-John; and

and that all the Grand Khans, ſince the death of him who died in battle againſt Chingiſcan, give their daughters in marriage to theſe kings.

The ſtory is well told, but it doth not appear that any of theſe princes were prieſts; and the kings of Abyſſinia, on the contrary, have almoſt all taken that character upon them. Severus, biſhop of Aſmonine, who lived at the end of the 10th century, has left us a teſtimony of the religion and power of the kings of Ethiopia. Elkera, ſays he, was king of the Abyſſins, and orthodox: This is the mighty king upon whoſe head the crown falls from heaven, whoſe dominions extend to the fartheſt parts of the ſouthern world; the fourth of the monarchs of the earth, the king whoſe power is not to be reſiſted. His patron ſaint is the evangeliſt St Mark, and the authority of the Jacobite patriarch of Egypt extends to him and to all the kings of Ethiopia and Nubia. He has in his country, near his perſon, an orthodox biſhop, who is ordained Metropolitan by the patriarch of Alexandria, and by him are the other biſhops conſecrated and the prieſts ordained.

Abuſelah having repeated almoſt the ſame things with Severus, adds, "All theſe kings are prieſts and "offer the myſteries upon the altars, who when they "are kings, kill nothing with their own hands; and "he who is ſo unhappy as to ſhed blood, is for ever "deprived of the office of ſacrifice. When he enters "the ſanctuary he takes off his crown, which is the "mark of his dignity, and remains ſtanding and bare-"headed, till every one of the people have received "the communion; and if he intends to communicate "himſelf, he is the laſt that receives." The ſame author repeats the ſame account lower, and then tells us, "That if the king ſhall kill any thing, there is no pact

"or

" or condition which obliges his ſubjects to continue " their allegiance."

It appears by this laſt circumſtance how much the Abyſſins reverence the prieſthood; ſince the king, tho' entirely abſolute amongſt them, and of uncontroulable authority, could not enter the ſanctuary without taking orders.

The Abyſſins relate that their Caleb or Eleſbas, who lived in the beginning of the 16th century, was a prieſt and celebrated maſs 40 years. It is apparent that they had not then that ſtrict law which abſolves the ſubjects from their fidelity to their king if he ſtains his hands with blood; for King Caleb croſſed the ſea to make war upon Denawas a Jewiſh king of the Homerites, whoſe kingdom he deſtroyed and killed him. The Abyſſins affirm likewiſe that Abraham, one of their kings who reigned ſince Lalibala, was not only a prieſt, but ſo favoured by heaven, that two angels brought him the bread and wine which he made uſe of in the celebration of the ſacrament.

There is therefore no room to queſtion that many of the Abyſſin princes have been prieſts; when at the ſame time the brother of Ung-can is the only one in Aſia ſaid to have exerciſed that function, and even his name is not mentioned. Beſides, it is not very probable that this king of the Oriental Turks, who, being a prieſt, uſurped the ſovereign dignity in 1098, was yet living in 1177. As he therefore could not be the king to whom Alexander III. wrote, it can probably be none but the king of Ethiopia. To this may be added, that Marco Polo, who firſt advanced the notion that Ung-can was the Preſter-John, informs us likewiſe that Ethiopia was called the *Leſſer India*, but doth not ſay that the name of India was extended to the country of

the

the Oriental Turks. It then follows from the account of Marco Polo himſelf, that this king of India, to whom Pope Alexander's letter is addreſſed, muſt be the emperor of Ethiopia; which letter, as it is a valuable monument of the church of Abyſſinia, may, I hope, properly be inſerted here, as it is found in Hoveden.

EPISTOLA *Alexandri Papæ.*

Ad Johannem Regem Indorum Miſſa.

" ALEXANDER Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, Cha-
" riſſimo in Chriſto filio, illuſtri et magnifico indorum
" regi ſacerdotum ſanctiſſimo ſalutem et apoſtolicam
" benedictionem. Apoſtolica ſedes, cui, licet imme-
" riti, præſidemus, omnium in Chriſto credentium ca-
" put eſt et magiſtra, domino ateſtante, qui ait beato
" Petro, cui, licet indigni, ſucceſſimus, tu es Petrus, et
" ſuper hanc petram ædificabo eccleſiam meam. Hanc
" ſiquidem petram Chriſtus eſſe voluit in eccleſiæ fun-
" damentum, quam præconat nullis ventorum viribus
" nulliſque tempeſtatibus quatiendam et ideo non im-
" merito beatus Petrus, ſuperquem fundavit eccleſiam
" ligandi atque ſolvendi ſpecialiter et precipue inter
" apoſtolos alios meruit accipere poteſtatem, cui dic-
" tum eſt a domino, tibi dabo claves regni cælorum
" et portæ inferni non prævalebunt adverſus eam. Et
" quodcumque ligaveris ſuper terram erit ligatum et
" in cœlis; et quodcumque ſolveris ſuper terram, erit
" ſolutum et in celis. Audiveramus utique jampridem
" referentibus multis, et in fama communi, quomodo
" cum fis Chriſtianum nomen proffeſſus, piis velis ope-
" ribus indeſinenter intendere et circa ea tuum ani-
" mum geras, quæ Deo grata ſunt, et accepta. Sed

" et

" et dilectus filius magiſter Philippus medicus et fa-
" miliaris noſter, qui de intentione pia et propoſito
" tuo, cum magnis et honorabilibus viris regni tui ſe in
" partibus illis verbum habuiſſe proponit, ſicut vir pro-
" vidus et diſcretus circumſpectus et prudens, conſtan-
" ter nobis et ſolicite retulit, ſe manifeſtius ab his au-
" diſſe quod tuæ voluntatis ſit et propoſiti erudiri Ca-
" tholica et apoſtolica diſciplina, et ad hoc ferventer
" intendas, ut tu et terra tuæ ſublimitati commiſſa,
" nihil unquam videamini in fide veſtra tenere, quod à
" doctrina ſedis apoſtolicæ diſſentiat modo quolibet,
" vel diſcordet. Super quo ſane tibi ſicut Chariſſimo
" filio plurimum congaudemus et ei a quo omne do-
" num procedit, immenſas gratiarum exſoluimus ac-
" tiones: vota votis et preces precibus adjungentes, ut
" qui dedit tibi nomen Chriſtianitatis ſuſcipere, menti
" tuæ per ſuam ineffabilam pietatem inſpiret, quod
" omnino velis ſapere quæ ſuper omnibus articulis
" fidei tenere debet religio Chriſtiana. Non enim vere
" poteſt de Chriſtiana profeſſione ſperare ſalutem, qui
" eidem profeſſioni verbo et opere non concordat:
" quia non ſufficit cuilibet nomine Chriſtiano cenſeri,
" qui de ſe ſentit aliud, quam Catholica et apoſtolica
" habeat diſciplina juxta illud quod dominus in evan-
" gelio dicit, non omnis qui dicit mihi domine, do-
" mine, intrabit in regnum cœlorum, ſed qui facit
" voluntatem patris mei, qui in cœlis eſt. Illud autem
" nihilominus ad commendationem tuæ virtutis acce-
" dit, quod ſicut prudens magiſter Philippus ſe a tuis
" aſſerit audiſſe, ferventi deſiderio cuperes in urbe ha-
" bere eccleſiam, et Jeroſolymitanum altare aliquod,
" ubi viri prudentes de regno tuo manere poſſint, et
" apoſtolica plenius inſtrui diſciplina; per quos poſt-
" modum tu, et homines regni tui doctrinam ipſam re-

" ciperent

" ciperent et tenerent. Nos autem, qui licet insuffi-
" cientibus meritis in beati Petri cathedra positi, jux-
" ta apostolum, sapientibus et insipientibus, divitibus
" et pauperibus, nos recognoscimus debitores, de salute
" tua et tuorum omnimodam solicitudinem gerimus,
" et vos ab his articulis, in quibus erratis a Christiana
" et catholica fide, prompto animo, prout tenemur ex
" suscepti ministerio regiminis, volumus revocare: cum
" ipse dominus beato Petro, quem omnium apostolo-
" rum principem fecit, dixit, et tu aliquando conver-
" sus confirma fratres tuos. Licet autem grave nimis
" videatur et laboriosum existere ad præsentiam tuam
" inter tot labores et varia itineris locorum discrimina,
" et inter longas et ignotas oras quemlibet a nostro la-
" tere destinare; considerato tamen officii nostri debito
" et tuo proposito et intentione pensata præfatum Phi-
" lippum medicum et familiarem nostrum, virum uti-
" que discretum, circonspectum et providum, ad tuam
" magnitudinem mittimus de Jesu Christi misericordia
" confidentes. Quod si volueris in eo proposito et in-
" tentione persistere quam te, inspirante domino, intel-
" ligimus concepisse; de articulis Christianæ, fidei, in
" quibus tu et tui a nobis discordare videmini in prox-
" imo per Dei misericordiam eruditus, nihil prorsus ti-
" mere poteris, quod de errore tuum vel tuorum salu-
" tem præpediat, vel in vobis nomen Christianitatis
" offuscet. Rogamus itaque excellentiam regiam, mo-
" nemus et hortamur in domino quatenus eundem Phi-
" lippum, proreverentia beati Petri et nostra, sicut vi-
" rum honestum, discretum et providum, et a nostro
" latere destinatum, debita benignitate recipias, et re-
" verenter et devote pertractes; et si tuæ voluntatis est
" et propositi, sicut omino decet esse, ut erudiaris apo-
" stolica disciplina, super his, quæ idem Philippus ex

" nostra

" noſtra tibi parte proponet, ipſum diligenter audias
" et exaudias, et perſonas honeſtas et literas tuo Sigil-
" lo Sigillatas, quibus propoſitum et voluntatem tuam
" poſſimus plene cognoſcere, ad nos cum ipſo tranſmit-
" tas: quia quanto ſublimior et major haberis, et mi-
" nus de divitiis et potentia tua videris inflatus, tanto
" libentius, tam de conceſſione eccleſiæ in Urbe, quam
" etiam de conferendis altaribus in eccleſia beati Petri
" et Pauli, et Jeroſolymis in eccleſia ſepulchri domini,
" et in aliis quæ juſte quæſieris, tuas curabimus peti-
" tiones admittere et efficacius exaudire, utpote qui
" deſiderium tuum ſuper hoc quod multa commenda-
" tione dignum extitit, modis omnibus, quibus ſecun-
" dum Deum poſſumus, volumus promovere et tuam
" et tuorum animas deſideramus domino lucrifa-
" cere. Data Venetiæ in Rivo alto quinto kal. Oc-
" tobris."

It appears by this letter, that the king of Ethiopia was deſirous of ſubjecting himſelf to the ſee of Rome; and requeſted two churches for his nation, one at Rome, the other at Jeruſalem. At Rome the Abyſſins have formerly had the chureh of St Stephen, and another church at Jeruſalem.

We have an account, that in the 12th century, the emperor of Ethiopia was ſo diſſatisfied with the conduct of the patriarch of Alexandria, that he formed a deſign of withdrawing himſelf from his juriſdiction. This difference firſt aroſe under Gabriel the ſon of Tareik the 70th patriarch of Alexandria, who was elected about the year 1131, and was ſtill on foot in the time of John the ſon of Abugaleb the 74th patriarch. The original of this diſcontent was, that the kings of Abyſſinia would have compelled Michael the Abuna to

conſecrate ſeveral biſhops; which he refuſed to do without the conſent of the patriarch of Alexandria: upon which the king wrote not only to the patriarch, but to the calif; who not underſtanding the importance of ſuch an innovation, ſpoke to Gabriel about it, and proceeded after ſome importunity to menaces. But being informed, that if the Abyſſins could obtain ſeveral biſhops, they might elect a patriarch of their own, and ſeparate themſelves from the church of Alexandria, the calif was not only content to drop his former demand, but commended the patriarch for his refuſal.

The ſame Abuna was embarraſſed with other difficulties of greater danger. There happened in his time a revolution in Abyſſinia, by which the legal order of ſucceſſion was broken; and the uſurping prince not being able to prevail on the Abuna to crown him, demanded of the patriarch of Alexandria that he ſhould nominate another, alleging that the great age of Michael made him incapable of performing the duties of his office. John the 72d patriarch of Alexandria refuſed to comply, and for his refuſal was impriſoned by the Vizier Haly the ſon of Telar, whom the new king had brought over to his intereſt, chooſing rather to be deprived of the pleaſures of liberty than to do any thing ſo contrary to the canons of the church.

Theſe frequent debates with the patriarchs, which the kings of Abyſſinia have been embroiled in, might eaſily ſuggeſt a deſign of having recourſe to Rome; and if Mr Ludolf had been acquainted with theſe particulars, he would perhaps have been more cautious in determining, that this letter was written to the khan of Tartary, or of the Oriental Turks. It is of no great importance to know whether it was Pope Alexander

der III. who allowed the Abyſſins the church of St Stephen's at Rome, and another at Jeruſalem; that they requeſted ſuch a grant is plain, and they have always obtained it. If the Portugueſe were the firſt that gave us any knowledge of Abyſſinia, let the patrons of that opinion inform us, how Zara Jacob, or to ſpeak more properly, the Abuna Nicodemus, then eſtabliſhed at Jeruſalem, wrote to Pope Eugenius IV. It cannot be denied that the emperor of Ethiopia is mentioned as the true Preſter-John, in a letter from the grand-maſter of Rhodes to King Charles VII. before the Portugueſe had diſcovered that part of the world, and 40 years before any of them had travelled into that country; Antony Payva and Peter Covillan not being ſent in ſearch of Preſter-John till the year 1477. It is eaſy to judge from the grand-maſter's letter, whether the emperor of Ethiopia was known at that time by the name of *Preſter-John*, which I chooſe to lay before the reader, as it is found in page 556, of the ſeventh volume of the Spicilegium.

" Serenissime et Chriſtianiſſime Francorum Rex,
" debita recommendatione præmiſſa. Conſuerunt ſem-
" per læto animo principes audire ea quæ in exteris
" regionibus geruntur, et preſertim ſi quid eſt quod ad
" detrimentum infidelitum interceſſerit. Nuperrimè
" ſiquidem ex literis ex Conſtantinopoli, pera et chio
" huc Rhodum miſſis, nobis innotuit magnum teucro-
" rum ſive Turchorum regem claſſem ingentem para-
" viſſe, exercitumque coadunaſſe, ut terra marique ip-
" ſam Conſtantini urbem oppugnaret. Quæ claſſis, cum
" in Danubium flumen eſſet ingreſſa, deſcendiſſentque
" teucri plurimi ex ea in terram, repente claſſis blanchi
" longè ea inferior numero, ex ſuperiore ad nos parte
" infiluit,

" insiluit, et ferè infidelium totam classem combussit. " Illi verò qui terram petierant, à blanchi gentibus " trucidati sunt. Hoc infortunio et clade Teucris data, " et Imperatoria ipsa civitas, et omnes insulæ Ægæi " pelagi à formidine magna, Deo victoriam Christianis " dante, liberati sunt.

" Insuper *Presbyter Johannes Indorum Imperator*, ut " quidam sacerdotes Indiani huck Rhodum devecti " per veros interpretes dixerunt, magnam stragem et " occisionem *Saracenis suis finitimis*, et his maximà qui " ex stirpe Machometi se ortos prædicant, intulit, ut " vix credatur: nam per trium dierum iter passim ca- " davera occisorum conspiciebantur. Destinavit præ- " terea oratorem is Indorum rex Soldano Babyloniæ " cum muneribus, sicut mos orientalium est, ei denun- " tians nisi ab affligendo Christianos desierit, se bellum " pestiferum civitati Mechæ, ubi sepulchrum Macho- " metі esse dicitur, *Ægypto, Arabiæ, et Syriæ, quæ di- " tioni ipsius Soldani subjectæ sunt, illaturum; flumen- " que Nili totum, qui Ægyptum irrigat, et sine quo nullus " illic vivere posset, surrepturum, et iter aliud illi datu- " rum simili pacto minitans.* Orator ipse primò bene " admissus et visus fuit; datáque ei copia ut sanctum " sepulchrum domini nostri viseret. Qui cùm reversus " ad Cayrum fuisset, ab ipso Soldano carceri traditus " est, hac intentione illum non relaxaturum, nisi orator " suus ad Indiam missus et detentus non redierit. Hæc " sunt memoratu digna, et serenitate vestræ digniſſima, " quam semper valere optamus."

Datum Rhodi in nostro conventu, die tertia Julii anno domini milleſſimo quadringenteſimo quadrageſimo octavo. Serenitatis vestræ magister hospitalis Jerusalem.

We are far from giving credit to every thing contained in that letter; but it is sufficient for our purpose that the emperor of Ethiopia was known in 1448 to the grand-master of Rhodes under the name of *Prester-John*, nothing being more apparent than that the Portugueſe were not the firſt who mentioned him by that name. Mr Thevenot informs us, that father Jerome Lobo believed that title to have been firſt aſcribed to him by the French who viſited the Holy-Land, as the reader may find in the conference related by him.

The Abyſſins were much addicted to pilgrimages into the Holy-Land; and this temper prevailed moſt among them at the time when the French went often into Aſia to carry on their wars in thoſe countries. It was from their converſation with the Abyſſins that they learned the appellation of *Preſter* or *Prieſt-John*; for thoſe people, to raiſe the higher idea of their monarch, added to his other offices and titles that of prieſthood.

DISSER-

DISSERTATION V.

ON THE

KINGS OF ABYSSINIA:

Their Coronation, Titles, Queens, and Sons. Of their Armies, and the Manner of Diſtributing Juſtice.

AS the Sabæans or Homerites were not very careful to preſerve their hiſtory, the Abyſſins were much leſs curious: ſo great has been their ſupineneſs, that the very names of their kings can ſcarce be recovered. The Portugueſe fathers have given us the ſucceſſion, drawn from two different manuſcripts, which, as they make no ſcruple to confeſs, ſcarce ever agree. They reckon 100 kings from Meneleck the ſon of Solomon, and Makeda Queen of Sheba, to Sultan Jaſſok Aduam Sagghed; but they neither tell us when their kings begun, nor when they ended their reigns. All the hiſtory they have preſerved is ſome account of Caleb or St Eleſbas, who lived in 521; of whom they relate, that at the inſtigation of the patriarch of Alexandria, he paſſed the ſea with a large fleet and a very formidable army to puniſh Denawas, a Jewiſh prince, who had raiſed a cruel perſecution againſt the Chriſtians; that he defeated him in two battles; and after his death, which happened in the laſt fight, made himſelf

maſter of his whole kingdom, and put an end to the power of the Sabæans or Homerites Part of this new acquiſition he diſmembered from the reſt, and gave the ſovereignty of it to the ſon of the holy martyr Aretas; the other part paid tribute to the king of Ethiopia 72 years, til Sait. Ibn di-Jazan reſolving to continue no longer dependant on the Abyſſins, entered into an alliance with the Perſians; by which the kingdom of the Homerites was divided into two parties, one declaring for the Perſians, the other for the Romans, with whom and the Abyſſins the Perſians were at war. This debate kindled ſo long and deſtructive a war in the country, that Mahomet, finding it almoſt empty of men, and entirely laid waſte, took poſſeſſion of it with very little difficulty or oppoſition; ſince which time the Abyſſins have been ſhut up in Africa, without having any communication with the nations of Aſia and Europe, till the Portugueſe having penetrated into their country made it known to the other Europeans.

It is handed down by a kind of tradition, that, towards the end of the 10th century, the ſucceſſion of the poſterity of Menilech was interrupted by the enormous wickedneſs of Tradda Gaboz, a woman of unparalleled impiety and cruelty, who procured the death of the whole royal family, that ſhe might place upon the throne a ſon which ſhe had by the governor of Bugna. The Abyſſins, from the miſchief ſhe did, call her *Eſſal*, that is fire, becauſe ſhe deſtroyed every thing about her like that devouring element. Only one prince found means to eſcape her malice, who concealed himſelf in the kingdom of Xaoa, where his poſterity continued during the 300 years in which the family of Zague, which had uſurped the government, reigned in Abyſſinia.

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The Abyſſins, who conſider the princes of the houſe of Zague as men who illegally ſeized upon the kingdom, do not reckon them among their kings; for which reaſon, only the names of ſome of the moſt remarkable have been preſerved: theſe, as Mr Ludolf tells us, are Degna Michael, Newuja Chriſtos, Lalibala, who cut ſo many magnificent temples out of the rocks, of which Alvarez has given us the plans, and Naaca Luabo, who, as he affirms, was the laſt of that family, and is celebrated by the Abyſſins as a good king, a lover of peace, and favourite of Heaven.

The patriarch Alphonſo Mendez mentions theſe kings in a different order, and by different names; and ſays, that the empire was transferred from the houſe of Iſrael to that of Zague in 960, and reſtored to the legal ſucceſſor in 1300.

Of all theſe monarchs ſcarce any has left the memory of his reign behind him except Lalibala, of whom the Abyſſins relate many wonders, being won to an admiration of him by the happineſs of a long peace which they enjoyed in his reign, and by the great number of churches which he built of a very particular ſtructure, being hewn out of the hard rock with pick-axes and chiſſels.

Of theſe churches the moſt conſiderable is called after the name of the founder Lalibala, who notwithſtanding is buried in the church of Golgotha. He is counted among their ſaints; and the 7th of June, according to their calendar, that is the 12th according to our computation, is kept as a feſtival to his honour. Balthazar Tellez places this feaſt on the 17th, whoſe account of the ſaint, whoſe memory is on that day celebrated, may not be unacceptable.

On the 17th of June, ſays the Father, died the bleſſed Lalibala emperor of Ethiopia, that holy admirer of the myſteries of Heaven. When that ſaint was born, his parents determined to bring him up in the fear of God; whoſe care had ſo wonderful an effect, that when he came to the age of reaſon, being ſcourged by the command of the emperor his brother, who was enraged to find that he would certainly ſucceed him, he was ſo miraculouſly protected that no blow would light upon him. The angel who guarded him, told him that he ſhould build ten churches; which he did, and died in peace.

After him the crown fell again to the deſcendants of the Houſe of Iſrael, whoſe names and reigns it would be ſuperfluous and tireſome to enumerate; ſince their names, and the number of years for which they bore the ſceptre, are all that we know of them.

Though the kingdom of Abyſſinia be ſo far hereditary that only one family can ſit on the throne, yet the reigning prince has the power of chooſing out of the royal family whom he pleaſes for a ſucceſſor; which, if he omits it, is done by the grandees of the kingdom, who elect him for their king whom they judge moſt capable of ſo high an office.

It was the cuſtom formerly to keep the princes confined in the mountain Guexen, where the temper and manners of each prince were diligently obſerved; and when they had agreed upon him whom they determined to place upon the throne, the governor of Tigre went with the great men and ſome troops to bring the new king. The governor left his men ranged in order at the foot of the rock, and went with the nobles to the lodging of the king-elect, and fixing a ring of gold in his ear as the firſt mark of royalty, commanded

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the other princes to pay homage to their king. The princes were preſently ſent back to their former confinement, and the new monarch conducted to his troops at the bottom of the mountain, where the principal officers, alighting from their horſes, paid their ſalutations, and conducted him to a tent prepared for his reception. There having alighted, he was anointed with perfumed oil by one of the chief eccleſiaſtics, while the other prieſts chaunted pſalms. They then dreſſed him in the royal habit, put a crown on his head, and a naked ſword in his hand, and placed him upon the throne: after which, the grand almoner, ſtanding upon an eminence, proclaims him by his name to the people, who anſwer with repeated acclamations, and pray for all kind of bleſſings upon their new monarch. This ceremony practiſed in the royal tent, is repeated, if it were not firſt performed there, in the church of Axuma, where the king enters the ſanctuary after his coronation, hears maſs, and receives the ſacrament.

The crown of the king of Abyſſinia is only a hat embroidered with gold and ſilver lace, having a croſs on the top, and being lined with blue velvet. The Abyſſins, having obſerved in the pictures of the coronation of their kings which adorn their churches, an angel holding a crown, have conceived an opinion that the Abyſſinian crown fell from heaven. And this opinion is ſo far from being of modern date, that Severus, who lived near the end of the 10th century, ſpeaks of it as a thing not to be called in queſtion.

The kings of Abyſſinia having formerly had ſeveral princes tributary to them, ſtill retain the title of emperor, or king of the kings of Ethiopia; and when their ſubjects ſpeak to them in the Ethiopic language,

they make uſe of the word Hatzeghe, which anſwers nearly to the French word Sire.

The emperors of Ethiopia, when they mount the throne, take an adſcititious name, without laying aſide their former. Thus David, who firſt ſent ambaſſadors to Portugal, added the name Onagegued, Suſneus that of Malec Segued, afterwards Sultan Segued. Segued, which is now become a kind of hereditary title, ſignifies *venerable*. The eſcutcheon is a lion holding a croſs, with this motto, *Vicit leo de tribu Juda.*

Although for the moſt part the emperors of Ethiopia have a great number of wives, yet only one of them enjoys the dignity of queen, whoſe title is *Iteghe*.

Nor is this honour conferred any other way than by the grant of the emperor; who, when he has determined to beſtow this favour upon any of his wives, orders her to be brought magnificently dreſſed from her own tent to his, where he makes her ſit down by his ſide: upon which one of the principal men of the court proclaims aloud, that the king has made his ſervant queen, which puts an end to the ceremony; and the lady from that time is treated as empreſs. If the king her huſband dies, though his ſucceſſor be only her ſon-in-law, or even though he be not related at all to her, he always regards her as his mother, nor can any other woman, during her life, take the title of queen.

Nobody ever eats with the emperor of Abyſſinia, not even the queen herſelf; nor have any the honour to ſee him at table except his pages that wait: but the queen always eats with a great number of ladies.

Anciently the princes who had any right or pretenſion to the crown, were, as hath been before related, kept under a ſtrong guard on Mount Guexen; which

cuſtom

cuſtom continued for 200 years. Naod, the father of David, was the laſt who was raiſed from that priſon to the throne. As the king was playing one day with a young prince about eight years old, a counſellor that ſtood by obſerved to him, that his ſon was very much grown: the child immediately apprehending the meaning of his words, burſt into tears, and lamented that he was grown only to be the ſooner ſent to Guexen. The king, touched at the return, declared that the royal offspring ſhould be no more confined in that manner. Thus, by this accident, was an end put to the ſlavery of the princes of Abyſſinia.

As for the princeſſes, whom they call in this country *Ozoray*, they had never any reaſon to complain of reſtraint; for either we ought to diſbelieve many relations of their conduct, or they indulge themſelves in a kind of libertiniſm, which will not eaſily be made conſiſtent with the Chriſtianity they profeſs. To them the chains of marriage are not very burdenſome; for they throw them off when they pleaſe, changing their huſbands according to their own caprice, and frequently procuring their deaths. Nor has the moſt inſatiable ambition of monarchs, either to gain or enlarge an empire, been the occaſion of more broils and troubles than the intrigues and paſſions of theſe women.

Formerly the emperors of Ethiopia were never ſeen by their ſubjects, and concerned themſelves very little in the government of their kingdom; all the power being depoſited in the hands of two officers, whom they called *Babtuded*, that is, miniſter and favourite. This cuſtom is now ſo far changed, that the king appears in public three or four times a-year, but is never ſeen at meals; and when he gives audience even to ſtrangers, he

he is always concealed behind a curtain. Inſtead of the Bahtuded, there is now a generaliſſimo eſtabliſhed under the title of *Ras*, or chief, and under him two intendants of the houſehold; on one of which depend the viceroys, governors, captains, and judges, and on the other all the inferior officers of the houſehold.

The king's authority is ſo unlimited, that no man can in this country be called with juſtice proprietor of any thing: nor doth any man when he ſows his field know that he ſhall reap it; for the king may beſtow the fruits upon whom he pleaſes: and all the ſatisfaction the former poſſeſſor can hope for, is, that ſome man be appointed to bring in the eſtimate of the expences he had been at in cultivating it, in order to his reimburſement. But the arbitrator is always favourable to the preſent owner, whom he preſumes to have more intereſt than the perſon diſpoſſeſſed.

Theft is ſo eſtabliſhed in this country, that the head of the robbers purchaſes his employment, and pays tribute to the king.

With all theſe advantages, and this great extent of prerogative, the king of Abyſſinia is by no means rich. Every thing is paid in kind; and the moſt valuable branch of his revenue is a tithe which he takes every third year of the cattle. He receives likewiſe about 3000 pieces of calicoe. The governors purchaſe their commiſſions, or, to ſpeak properly, their privilege of pillaging the provinces, and pay yearly a ſtated ſum of money, which ariſes to no great value.

The viceroyſhip of Tigre is the moſt valuable, and contains ſeveral ſubordinate governments, which do not pay altogether above 25,000 livres yearly. Thoſe in Dambia pay above 50,000, and the reſt in proportion.

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The king is in poſſeſſion of vaſt tracts of land, which are put in the hands of his viceroys, who take the charge upon them of cultivating them, and giving an account of the produce. He receives no money from any of his provinces except Goiam and Narea.

As the whole revenue of the emperor conſiſts in lands and goods, he has nothing elſe to pay his troops with. He therefore gives them lands; and if what he has aſſigned be not ſufficient, he diſtributes corn amongſt them.

The emperor of Ethiopia is able to bring 40,000 men into the field, and among them about 5000 horſe; but his forces are leſs formidable, becauſe they know not the uſe of fire-arms, of which they have but few, and leſs powder. They are armed generally with half-pikes and bucklers, inſtead of which ſome of the horſemen have coats of mail.

As they ſpend almoſt their whole lives in the camp, they order their march without much difficulty, though they carry their wives and children with them; which ſo ſwells their numbers, that there are often 40,000 perſons in an army of 10,000 men, who provide for themſelves as they can. What in ſome meaſure balances the inconveniences of ſuch numerous and unſerviceable attendants, is, that there is no nation which can endure the extremes of heat and cold, or the hardſhips of hunger and thirſt, and rain, with leſs inconvenience than the Abyſſins, who are ſufficiently robuſt and active, but march to action without any regularity; for they know not what a battalion or ſquadron is, and therefore are ſoon diſordered in a day of battle. If the king marches with them in perſon, he is always attended by the flower of the nobility.

After

After having given an account of their wars and forces, it would be proper to ſay ſomething of their civil government and courts of judicature; but theſe have been ſo fully cleared in the foregoing relation, that nothing can be added, and what has been already ſaid it is ſuperfluous to repeat.

DIS-

DISSERTATION VI.

ON THE

RED-SEA,

AND THE

NAVIGATION OF SOLOMON's FLEETS.

SINCE the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez, and the Fathers Jerome Lobo and Balthazar Tellez have written their obſervation on the Red-Sea, it ſeems proper to examine their ſentiments. All three have given us a confutation of the ancient opinions, in order to eſtabliſh a new one, in my opinion not better grounded. The two former tell us, that they uſed frequently to divert themſelves upon the water, and took a particular pleaſure in turning the boat to thoſe places in which any redneſs appeared, where they made an Indian that waited on them dive into the water, who always brought up with him a plant called *gouefmon*, and that when this was plucked away; the redneſs always diſappeared.

That there are great quantities of gouefmon in the Red-Sea, and that it gives the water an appearance of redneſs which it has not naturally, is undeniable; but it is not very probable that, from ſo trifling a cauſe, all the nations of the earth ſhould have agreed to give this gulph the name of the Red-Sea.

Father

Father Balthaſar Tellez remarks, that though Moſes often makes mention of the Red-Sea, he never mentions it by that name; and draws this concluſion from his remark, that it was not known by it till the Iſraelites went from Egypt, and Pharaoh and his whole army was ſwallowed in the waters; and that it took that appellation from this great and miraculous event. He objects to his own hypotheſis, that thoſe who are drowned do not loſe much blood, and gets over it as well as he can.

Mr Boehart was the firſt publiſher of an opinion which has been received by Mr Ludolf, and which ſeems to us the moſt probable. We read in the 25th chapter of Geneſis, that Edom ſignifies *red*; and it is with great probability on their ſide, that ſome learned men maintain the Red-Sea to have derived its name from Edom. It is unqueſtionably evident from ſcripture, that the country of Edom bordered upon the Red-Sea; and Fuller is of opinion, that the king Erythra or Erythræus, reported by the Greeks to have left his name to theſe waters, was no other than Eſau, who was called Edom after he had ſold his birth-right for the pottage. Nothing is more common than to give the ſea a name from the neighbouring country; and we read in the firſt book of Kings, that Solomon built his ſhips on the coaſt of the Red-Sea, in the country of Edom.

The learned Father Hardouin believes that he has ſufficient reaſons for refuſing to ſubſcribe to this opinion, having diſcovered in his vaſt reading, that the Southern Ocean had the name of the Red-Sea before it was given to the gulph of Arabia. I ſhould agree with Voſius, ſays he, that the name of the Red-Sea was derived from Idumæus or Edom, which in the Hebrew

Hebrew language ſignifies *red*; had it not appeared from ancient writers, that the Southern Ocean was known by that name before it was given to the Arabian gulph. We are bold to hope for pardon from this great ſcholar, if we ſay that an appellation, common likewiſe to the Southern Ocean, might eaſily have been given to the Gulph of Arabia.

Among the reaſons which Pliny ſets down for this appellation, he mentions the foregoing; "Irrumpit "deinde, et in hac parte geminum, mare in terras "quod Rubrum dixere noſtri, Græci Erythræum, a "rege Erythrâ;" relating afterwards the ſentiments of thoſe who wrote before him, without coming to any determination.

It is ſufficiently probable that the fleets of Solomon which ſailed from the coaſt of Edom made this ſea ſo celebrated, and firſt gave it the name of Edom or Red, which it has retained for ſo many ages, and by which it is known by all the nations of the world.

It would perhaps be unneceſſary to follow the fleets of Solomon any farther, were there not reaſon to believe that we ſhould diſcover them on the coaſt of Ethiopia; nothing being more probable than that the two countries of that name ſupplied them with their wealthy lading, notwithſtanding it has been imagined that their voyages were much longer, ſince they were three years in making them.

All the learned men who have undertaken to treat of this ſubject have been in more care to make a pompous diſplay of their own erudition than a diſcovery of the truth. They have advanced imaginary ſyſtems to ſhow how well they could defend them, and have ranſacked their memories for quotations, and their invention

tion for arguments, to ſupport the greateſt uncertainties.

Some of theſe writers have conjectured, from the word Parvaim, that theſe ſhips ſailed to Peru; others declare for the Iſle of Saint Domingo; and ſeveral for Malaca, whom Mr Bochart has examined with great diligence; and ſetting aſide the notion as not ſufficently ſupported, concludes in favour of Ceylon.

I cannot but think, that if theſe great men had been acquainted with the hiſtory of Eaſtern Ethiopia, they would have taken ſome notice of what is ſaid in the ſecond book; which, after having made the reader ſomewhat more acquainted with our author, we ſhall turn to cite.

Father John Dos-Santos, a Dominican monk, ſet ſail from Liſbon with thirteen more of his own order in April 1586; and arriving at Mozambique in Auguſt, was employed in the miſſions of that country. His ſuperiors directed him to keep his principal reſidence at Sofala, from whence he was continually travelling to all parts of that region, where he continued 11 years conſtantly attending thoſe laborious duties. He made in the mean time ſeveral voyages from Sofala to Mozambique, which are 160 leagues diſtant, and penetrated 200 leagues into the inland parts, paſſing up the river Cuamo to Tete, where the Dominican fathers had then an eſtabliſhment, which the Jeſuits are now ſaid to be in poſſeſſion of. The obſervations which he made in his miſſions were printed by him at Evora in 1609, under the title of the Eaſtern Ethiopia.

The fortreſs of Sofala, ſays he, is placed in 32 degrees and an half ſouthward, on the coaſt of the Eaſtern Ethiopia, near the ſea, at the mouth of a river of the ſame name which riſes in Mozambique, about 100

leagues off, and runs by Zimbaoe, the common reſidence of the Quiteve or king of that country. The inhabitants of Sofala carry their merchandiſes up this river to Manica, which is 60 leagues higher in the country, where they ſell their teeth, and receive gold-duſt. Thirty leagues from Sofala is the celebrated and wealthy river of Cuama, called by the Cafres, Zambeſe. The head of this river is undiſcovered; but the tradition among the natives is, that in the midſt of Ethiopia is a vaſt lake which gives riſe to many rivers, and among them to the Cuama, which they ſay is named Zambeſe, from a village by which it runs not far from the lake. This river is extremely rapid, and in ſome places a league in breadth. At 30 leagues from the ſea it divides itſelf into two branches, each of which appears as large as the whole ſtream did before it was parted. The principal ſtream is called *Luabo*, which divides again into two other branches; and the leſſer *Guilimane*, or the river of *Welcome-tokens*, becauſe Vaſco de Gamo there diſcovered ſome marks by which he knew that he was near Mozambique, where he hoped to meet with ſome pilots to guide him in the reſt of his voyage to the Indies. He raiſed a ſtone pillar with a croſs and the arms of Portugal, and called the country, *The Land of Saint Raphael.*

From the Guilimane riſes another branch; ſo that this mighty river Cuama or Zambeſe diſcharges itſelf into the ſea through five mouths: but ſhips can only enter at the Luabo and Guilimane; nor at the latter except in winter, when the waters are high.

Veſſels paſs up the Luabo as far as the kingdom of Sicambe, which is much higher than Tete; and there the river falls from a rock of wonderful height, beyond which the channel is ſo obſtructed by rocks, that

it is impoſſible to ſteer a boat through it; which impediments continue for 20 leagues, as far as the kingdom of Chicoua, where ſilver mines are found. This river is called Airs, from an iſland of the ſame name near its mouth, where all the goods from Mozambique are unladed and ſtowed in lighter veſſels, in order to their more eaſy conveyance up the river to Sene, which is 60 leagues from the coaſt.

The Zambeſe is as beneficial to the inhabitants of theſe countries as the Nile is to the Egyptians, overflowing the land in the month of April, and giving it fatneſs and fertility.

The merchants of Tete come down to Sene with great ſtore of gold, which they fetch from Maſſapa in the kingdom of Menomotapa, where vaſt quantities of that metal are always to be had, it being in the neighbourhood of that vaſt mountain Fura or Afura; on the top of which are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of edifices built of ſtones and lime; a thing which is obſerved in no other part of the country of the Cafres, where the kings palaces themſelves are nothing but wood and clay covered with briars.

We are informed by the ancient tradition of the country, that theſe ruins are the remains of the magazines of the queen of Sheba; who, it is ſaid, received all her gold from the mines in this mountain, which was ſent down the Cuama to the Ethiopian Sea, from whence it was tranſported through the Red-Sea to that of Ethiopia, which lies above Egypt, then the empire of that queen.

Father Dos-Santos, in favour of this tradition, cites the authority of Joſephus, Origen, and St Jerome, and produces the teſtimony of the Abyſſins, who are firmly perſuaded that this celebrated queen was of their country,

country, where they have a village named after her, not far from Axuma.

Others are of opinion, that theſe magazines were erected by Solomon, and that it was from hence that the gold was brought which his ſhips were freighted with; obſerving in defence of their notion, that there is no greater difference between the words Ophir and Afura than what the various pronunciation of ſeveral nations might eaſily in ſo long a time have produced. In this they all agree, that there is a large quantity of the fineſt gold about that mountain, which might without the leaſt difficulty be conveyed down the river, as is now practiſed by the Portugueſe, and was practiſed before them by the Moors of Mozambique and Guiloa; and that, as it is now tranſported into the Indies, it might be carried anciently to Eziongeber, and from thence to Jeruſalem.

We have no reaſon, adds the ſame father, to wonder that the fleets of Solomon were three years in performing this voyage; for even at this day, when the Cafres are better acquainted with the value of gold than they were then, the barks of Mozambique ſpend a whole year here, either in ſelling their freight or collecting what is owing to the merchants. Navigation was in ancient times more difficult, being performed with veſſels leſs artfully contrived, and with pilots leſs ſkilful than now; and if the pangaies be not ready to ſail in the time of the monſoon they are obliged to wait for another ſeaſon: ſo that the veſſels of Mozambique are thought ſufficiently expeditious if they return within the year.

Sofala is in 32 degrees and an half ſouth, and Eziongeber in 29 and an half north; ſo that the whole voyage thither and back is 2000 leagues. It is likewiſe to

be conſidered, that it is impoſſible to ſail in the Red-Sea except by day, and then almoſt continually with plummet in hand; that it is neceſſary to take the proper ſeaſons for paſſing the Indian Sea; that the ſtream of the Cuama is not to be ſurmounted without great difficulty; and that Afura ſtands at the diſtance of 200 leagues from the ſea: If we add to theſe obſtacles the time which was ſpent in collecting the gold and ſilver, we ſhall no longer be ſurpriſed at the time required for the voyage. As to the other lading of thoſe fleets, we find upon this coaſt ivory, all ſorts of wood, fowls, and monkies of various kinds.

All the objection that Father Dos-Santos ſeems to apprehend, is, that there are no peacocks in this country; though to ſolve this, he pretends that theſe fowls are to be met with farther up in the land, from whence they might have been fetched. It is evident that he was unacquainted with the diſagreement among the interpreters about the meaning of the word *thukkijm*; ſome of whom imagine that it ſignifies paroquets, and others that the true interpretation of it is *ape*, though ſome think it to be peacocks. So that his greateſt perplexity is eaſily avoided.

Silver is very ſcarce in the eaſt; nor is it eaſy to diſcover more plentiful mines of it than in the kingdom of Chicoua, which extends north-eaſtward along the Zambeſe to Monomotapa. The foreſt of Thebe, which croſſes a river of the ſame name, is filled with trees of a wonderful beauty, and of ſuch vaſt magnitude, that of one trunk only they make boats 20 cubits long. The learned Mr Huet is of opinion, that the ivory brought into Paleſtine by the fleets of Solomon did not conſiſt only of elephants teeth, which are in great plenty to be met with in this part of Africa,

but of the teeth of ſea-horſes, on which a great value is ſet. Theſe animals are as common in the rivers of Cuama and Sofala as the elephants are in the foreſts and plains of Ethiopia. There is great plenty of amber on this coaſt, and a fiſhery for pearls near the iſlands of Bocicas; ſo that Solomon's fleet might have found, at the mouths of the Cuama and Sofala, gold, ſilver, ivory, wood, and in general all that is recorded to have been brought him, except precious ſtones, which it went in queſt of to the Gulph of Perſia.

There is no leſs difficulty in determining the ſituation of Tharſis than of Ophir. The moſt common opinion is, that Tharſis, properly ſo called, is Bætica; that is, the kingdoms of Andaluſia, Granada, and Murcia in Spain; but that, in a more extended ſignification, it may comprehend Africa, and perhaps in general all coaſts, with the ſea. Some, though but few, place Tharſis in the Indies, at or near China; and each party exert their utmoſt abilities to ſupport their ſentiments by a great number of authorities, in my opinion, to very little purpoſe: for ſince there are few writers of the age of Solomon who have treated either of geography or the courſe of thoſe voyages, it ſeems ſcarce poſſible to advance any thing farther than probabilities; nor do the teſtimonies of Strabo, Pliny, and Heliodorus, quoted with great ſolemnity, contribute ſo much to clearing the truth, as diſplaying the author's learning.

As theſe writers were neither eye-witneſſes nor contemporaries, it ſeems beſt to confine ourſelves to the ſcripture, and explain one part of it by another. To come therefore at the truth, let us compare the 71ſt pſalm with the 9th and 10th chapters of the firſt book of Kings, the 19th and 20th of the ſecond book of

Chronicles, and the 2d chapter of Judith; from which it will appear, that Tharſis was in Arabia. David ſays, That "the Ethiopians ſhall proſtrate themſelves "before the Lord, and that his enemies ſhall lick the "duſt:" That "the kings of Tharſis and of the Iſles "ſhall bring preſents; the kings of Sheba and Saba "ſhall offer gifts." It cannot be denied that this pſalm is a prophecy of the birth of Jeſus Chriſt, and of the acknowledgment of his divinity by the Magi, who were not far diſtant from each other, and who appear, by their offerings of myrrh, incenſe, and gold, to have come from the province of Saba in Arabia; which is affirmed by David himſelf. The fleets of Solomon which were fitted out at Ezion-geber ſailed to Ophir and to Tharſis either ſeparately or together. The ſhips of Jehoſophat which were loſt in the port, were to have carried on the ſame commerce at the ſame places. Jehoſophat made ſhips of Tharſhiſh to go "to Ophir for gold; but they went not, for the "ſhips were broken at Ezion-geber:" 1 Kings xxii. 49. "And he joined himſelf with him to make ſhips "to go to Tharſhiſh, and they made ſhips at Ezion-"geber." The Scripture ſeems to confound Tharſis and Ophir, ſince the ſame were deſigned to have gone to each place. Whether the ſquadrons ſeparated at the mouth of the Red-Sea, at the river Sofala, or any other place, they always returned together, and were therefore called either the fleet of Ophir or of Tharſis, as appears from the paſſages of the Holy Scripture; in which, when mention is made of the intent of thoſe ſhips, theſe two places are named indiſcriminately.

When Holofernes marched to beſiege Bethulia, he found, after having paſſed through Cilicia, that the Jews had poſſeſſed themſelves of the high mountains:

Taking

Taking therefore a very large compaſs, he plundered the wealthy city of Melothi, ravaged the countries of Tharſis and the Iſhmaelites, and carried away the inhabitants. Tharſis therefore is in Arabia: and I am of opinion, that, together with Saba, it made part of it; and that, when David ſays, "They that dwell in the wilderneſs (or the Ethiopians) ſhall fall down be-"fore him. The kings," &c. he ſpeaks particular of Arabia; which, as hath already been obſerved, was anciently known by the general name of Ethiopia, and extended along the ſhore of the Red-Sea to the Gulph of Ormus, where the fleet of Solomon found the precious ſtones, and every thing which Ophir, that is, the coaſt of Sofala, could not ſupply them with.

It is far from any appearance of probability, that, in an age almoſt entirely ignorant of the art of navigation, veſſels ſetting ſail from Ezion-geber ſhould quit the coaſts, double the Cape of Good Hope, paſs and repaſs the line, and viſit ſavage and uncultivated countries, only for what might have been had near home, free from all theſe inconveniences, and almoſt without expence or danger.

None of our readers will think three years too long a time to be ſpent in the voyage we have been explaining, if he reflects that they ſailed within ſight of the ſhore, or very near it; that the paſſage is difficult; that at Sofala they conducted their veſſels up a river full of rocks; and that they were obliged to cut down and ſhape the timber which they carried away.

If an objection ſhall be raiſed that Jonas, with an intent to go to Tharſis, embarked at Joppa, now Jaffa, a port in the Mediterranean, and that, admitting our conjecture, he muſt have ſailed round Africa, it is hoped we may be allowed to anſwer, that there might

have been another Tharſis; or that, ſuppoſing it the country we have endeavoured to prove it, he might have taken ſhipping at Joppa, with a deſign of going to ſome other place leſs diſtant from the Red-Sea. After all, as conjecture in theſe matters is the utmoſt we can arrive at, I thought theſe gueſſes which I have laid before the reader had as fair an appearance of truth as thoſe reaſonings which other writers have uſed, and continue to uſe, every day.

DIS-

DISSERTATION VII.

ON THE

QUEEN OF SHEBA.

TO point out the places meant by the names of Ophir and Tharſis, is not more difficult than exactly to determine the reſidence of the *Queen of the South*, ſo famous for the viſit which ſhe paid to Solomon, and for the encomium which ſhe has received from the Redeemer of the world. We have already, from the writings of father Dos-Santos, ſeen, that the wild and uncivilized nations of Africa, who are entirely unacquainted with the controverſies which divide the learned world into parties, are perſuaded that this celebrated princeſs reigned amongſt them, and ſhow to this day the ruins of her palace; and their opinion is ſupported by thoſe who have travelled into Abyſſinia.

Yet however firmly this notion may be eſtabliſhed in Africa, the moſt learned interpreters have almoſt univerſally agreed to place her in that part of Arabia-the-Happy, known now by the name of *Yemen;* and as her name is not any where mentioned in the holy writings, and Jeſus Chriſt only ſays, that *the Queen of the South ſhall riſe up in judgment*, every one is at liberty to indulge

dulge his own conjectures, and to assign her a name and place of abode.

Father Nicholas Godigno tells us, that she is called *Nicanta*, *Nitocris*, *Nicaula*, and *Makeda*, omitting another name, *Belkis*, which the Abyssins giver her, who affirm that she was the daughter of Hod-Had king of the Homerites. She is likewise conformably to the scriptures called *Nagista Azeb*, that is, Queen of the South, by the Abyssinians, who agree with the Arabs in asserting that she was the wife of Solomon. Some of the interpreters who favour that opinion, imagine, that Solomon, who had espoused the women of Egypt and Midian, would not have refused to marry this princess, who came so far without any other motive than the reputation of his wisdom: and indeed a king who had already so many wives and concubines needed not to have made any difficulty of that matter. It is pretended farther, that she returned into her own country big with child; that she brought a son there, whom she bred up until he was of age capable to receive advantage from the lessons of masters and the instructions of Solomon; and then sent him to Jerusalem to be educated near his father.

At Jerusalem, as the tradition continues to inform us, he passed several years, and was anointed and consecrated in the temple, taking the name of *David* in memory of his grandfather, from whence he afterwards returned; and ascending the throne, established the religion of Judæa, in his native country, which gave the original to that great number of Jewish ceremonies which are still preserved among the Abyssins. This nation seems to have a particular interest in maintaining that the Queen of Sheba was of their country; for they affirm that their kings are descendants in a right line

line from her and Solomon: which hath been ſo exactly related by the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez, that I ſhall ſet down his account of it almoſt in his own words. "The hiſtory of the country (ſays he) and a general "tradition informs us, that many ages ago the Abyſ- "ſins had a queen endowed with all the qualities of "the greateſt men. They call her *Magueda*, other- "wiſe *Nicaula*; ſhe is the ſame who from the deſire "ſhe had of knowing Solomon, of whom ſhe had "heard ſo many wonders, went to ſee him in the 20th "year of her reign, in the year 2979 from the crea- "tion of the world. She carried him many preſents, "and was delivered in her way home of a ſon which "ſhe had by him, whom ſhe called *Menelech*, that is, "*another ſelf*. This ſon, after having educated him "herſelf for ſome years, ſhe ſent to Solomon to be "farther inſtructed, by whom he was taken care "of; and, being conſecrated in the temple, took at "his conſecration the name of *David* in memory of "his grandfather. He was ſoon after ſent back to the "queen, attended by many doctors of the law of Mo- "ſes, and great men of Solomon's court, the chief of "whom was Azarias the ſon of Zadoc the high-prieſt, "who ſtole and carried with him the ark and one of "the tables of the law, which are ſtill preſerved in "the church of Axuma, the chief of the Abyſſinian "churches. It is not my deſign (continues the father) "to defend all theſe fictions; and in particular I am "ready to give up what they relate concerning the ark "and the table of the law: But as, though we reject "the fables that obſcure the beginning of the Roman "hiſtory, though we cannot imagine that Romulus "was the ſon of Mars and Rhea Silvia, or that he was "ſuckled and fed by a wolf; we believe nevertheleſs

" that he was the founder of Rome; ſo though many " fables may be detected in the traditions of the Abyſ- " ſins, it will not be reaſonable to conclude that there " is nothing true in their hiſtory; that the Queen of " Sheba did not reign in Ethiopia; or that ſhe never " had a ſon by Solomon: Yet this is what the learned " Pineda maintains; which obliges me, notwithſtand- " ing the eſteem which I have for his perſon, and the " friendſhip between us, to enter into a controverſy " with him upon this ſubject; ſince I do not ſee why " we may not diſcover in this journey of the Queen of " Sheba, and in her being with child by her marriage " with Solomon, the ſame myſtery which the fathers " have obſerved in what paſſed between David and " Bathſheba and the birth of Solomon.

" All the objections ſtarted by Pineda amount to no " more than theſe: That ſhe is called the *Queen of* " *Sheba*, or *Saba;* that ſhe was invited thither by the " fame of Solomon; that her retinue was more agree- " able to an Arabian than an Ethiopic princeſs; that " ſhe had a great number of camels; that ſhe brought " ſpices, gold, and precious ſtones; that her kingdom " is called the *kingdom of the South;* that ſhe came " from the fartheſt parts of the earth; that ſhe came " from Arabia, not from Abyſſinia.

" The name of *Saba* hath a meaning as undeter- " mined as that of Ethiopia, and may as well ſigni- " fy Abyſſinia as Arabia, ſince it is evident that Iſaiah " by that appellation has ſpoken of the Ethiopia that " lies above Egypt, in Chap. xliii. ver. 3. and xlv. " ver 14."

" Whoever will conſult the texts here cited, will " find that the patriarch's warmth has made him lay " hold on every thing which he imagined would be of " any uſe in the preſent exigency, and that there is

" nothing

" nothing in thoſe texts determines the word to a par-
" ticular country.

" If Solomon's fleets (continues the patriarch) have
" given him ſo great a reputation, and made his name
" famous in ſo many places, let a reaſon be given
" why they might not as eaſily have ſailed to Abyſſinia
" as to Arabia, ſince there hath always been a great in-
" tercourſe and affinity between the two nations, which
" are only ſeparated by a ſtrait which may without
" difficulty be croſſed in one day.

" The grandees of Abyſſinia travel with a larger
" train than the nobles of any other country; and the
" number of camels bred there is ſo great, that in the
" kingdom of Doara, we have been ſometimes ſtopped
" for a whole half day by the vaſt caravans of camels
" which came for ſalt. There is likewiſe incenſe in
" Abyſſinia, though not in ſo great quantities as in A-
" rabia; there is excellent myrrh and abundance of
" muſk and civet.

" As to gold, Ethiopia has an undoubted claim to
" the greateſt plenty of that precious metal, which is
" found along the banks of the Cuama and Sofola, in
" richer veins than in other parts of the world. If the
" relations of Pliny and ſome hiſtorians deſerve any
" credit, the moſt valuable ſtones were brought for-
" merly from the ſame land. If we regard the ſitua-
" tion of the country, which falls next under conſide-
" ration, Ethiopia lies more to the ſouth with reſpect
" to Jeruſalem than Arabia; Idumea, it is true, is in
" the ſouth, but all the reſt of Arabia lies eaſtward:
" nor can any ſufficient reaſon be aſſigned why the
" ſcripture, after having ſaid that the Magi who came
" to worſhip Jeſus Chriſt departed from the eaſt,
" ſhould call the Queen of Sheba *Queen of the South*,

" if

" if ſhe came from the ſame place: Since therefore ſhe " is called the Queen of the South, it is apparent that " ſhe was not the queen of the Homerites or Sabæans, " who, though their country extended to the Indian " Sea, were not ſo remote from Judæa as the Ethio- " pians, whoſe empire terminated at the fartheſt parts " of Africa; which is the reaſon why Iſaiah, ſpeaking " of thoſe nations which live beyond the rivers of E- " thiopia, calls them a nation beyond which no other " is to be found.

" Notwithſtanding it be true that no woman can " now reign in Abyſſinia, it will not follow that the " ſame cuſtom was then obſerved; and we are aſſured " by the miſſionaries, that the women, though not for- " mally inveſted with the regal authority, too often " obtain the power."

The patriarch having thus anſwered the objections of Pineda, confeſſes that the Abyſſins are ſo bigotted to the notion that the Queen of Sheba lived and reigned amongſt them, that, ſuppoſing their opinion groundleſs, it would be dangerous to undeceive them; for the title of *King of Iſrael*, which their Emperors aſſume, is founded upon this perſuaſion. He continues to inform us, though erroneouſly, that the crown always deſcends to the firſt-born; ſo that regal power is delivered down from father to ſon in a right line: and farther to confirm his ſentiment, mentions two villages near Axuma, one called *Adega David*, that is, the Houſe of David, the other *Azebo*, which in the Arabic language ſignifies the South, in memory of Nagiſta Azeb, the *Queen of the South*, its ancient inhabitant; the ruins of theſe houſes evidently ſhow that they were built in the moſt remote ages.

He adds, that the Abyſſins ſtill continue to retain

ſeveral

ſeveral names, cuſtoms, and ceremonies, which they received from the Jews: They have ſingers or debferas, whom they affirm to be deſcendants from the ſcribes, and thoſe who kept the tabernacle; and their judges or umbares boaſt loudly of their Jewiſh original. He omits circumciſion, the obſervation of the ſabbath, the diſtinction of meats, the veil of the temple, the purification of women, and innumerable other practiſes, anciently in uſe among the Jews, and now held ſacred by the Abyſſins.

Although all the arguments produced by the patriarch in favour of his aſſertion have their weight, yet they are not all equally cogent; and the authority of Pliny will never perſuade thoſe who are acquainted with the country, that ſuch numbers of precious ſtones were ever found in it. Spices, though the ſoil doth produce ſome, are there in ſmall quantities.

The Jewiſh cuſtoms ſtill preſerved there, only prove what none will deny, that there has been a frequent intercourſe between the Jews and them; which is yet more probable, if it be ſuppoſed, which nobody can doubt, that the Abyſſins were originally a colony from Arabia.

We read in Agatharcidas and other writers quoted by the learned Bochart, that one part of the Sabæans applied themſelves to agriculture and the other to commerce; and that they tranſported their ſpices and other fruits of their country into Ethiopia on veſſels of leather, and brought back other merchandiſes in exchange. Theſe ſhips of leather are without controverſy the gelves of which we have ſo compleat a deſcription in the former account.

The patriarch has forgot one circumſtance of more ſtrength to ſupport his opinion than all that hath been ſaid.

ſaid. The kings of the Sabæans were ſo confined, that, after their inveſtiture with the regal dignities, they were not ſuffered to go out of their palace on pain of being ſtoned. A nation which would not allow their king to come out of his own palace, was not likely to have given their queen the liberty of viſiting Solomon at ſo great a diſtance, unleſs the law were made ſince that time, which enjoins ſo ſtrict a confinement; ſo that if it was in force in the days of Solomon, the queen more probably came from Abyſſinia than Arabia. Joſephus himſelf ſeems to be of that opinion; whoſe relation has been examined with great ſeverity by the learned Bochart, and who is accuſed by him in plain terms of impoſing upon his readers, and having given an account of the affairs tranſacted out of his own country with leſs fidelity than thoſe of the Jews. He has, according to this critic, miſtaken the meaning of Herodotus, on whoſe teſtimony he depends; and Mr Bochart obſerves, that though the Egyptians reckon 18 Ethiopians among their kings, the only queen recorded to have reigned among them was an Egyptian named *Nitocris*, not *Nicaula*; nor was Meroe ever known by the name of *Saba*, having received its appellation from the mother of Cambyſes its founder. The ruins ſhown in Abyſſinia prove nothing, ſince the Arabs ſhow ruins of the palace of Sheba in their country with equal confidence; nor would it be leſs dangerous in Arabia to affirm that Sheba was Abyſſinia, than in Abyſſinia to maintain that it was Arabia.

Bochartus, in ſhort, proves by ſolid and weighty arguments, that Joſephus was miſtaken in making the Queen of the South Queen of Abyſſinia or Ethiopia above Egypt; and to confirm his reaſonings, we may add, that in the tenth chapter of the firſt book of Kings

ſhe

ſhe is called *Queen of Sheba;* and has no where any other name or title: and in the 6th of Job, Sheba certainly ſignifies Arabia. A great number of the fathers and interpreters decide in favour of Arabia, and are ſupported by Philoſtorgus and the Nubian geographer, who place the city of Sheba in Arabia, and affirm that Belkis, the wife of Solomon, came from thence.

Theſe opinions, ſo contrary in appearance, may be made conſiſtent without great difficulty; ſince it is agreed that theſe nations have borne the ſame name, been included in one empire, and governed by one prince. Their original is the ſame, the Abyſſins having tranſplanted themſelves from the land of Chus or the Sabæans. Mr d'Herbelot ſays in his *Bibliotheque Orientale*, that Ibrahim al Ayſchram was governor of Yemen, under the emperor of the Abyſſins in the time of Abdel Mothleb grandfather of Mahomet. The puniſhment of this prince, who brought an army with a great number of elephants to the ſiege of Mecca, is related in the 105th chapter of the Alcoran, called the *Chapter of the Elephant.* There came, ſay the Arabs, a cloud of birds with the rage of thunder upon the army; each of which had a ſtone in his beak, which he dropped with ſuch violence upon the elephants that they were pierced through; nor did the vengeance end here, but purſued the emperor into his own dominions, where one of theſe fowls let his ſtone fall upon his head and killed him.

In the time of the Emperor Juſtin, Eleſbas, or Caleb, was invited by letters from the Alexandrian patriarch to carry his arms into Arabia, in defence of thoſe Chriſtians who had been put to death in great numbers with the moſt exquiſite tortures by Dunacras

a Jewiſh prince. Eleſbas embraced the occaſion, and was favoured by God with an entire victory, which gave the Abyſſins the poſſeſſion of Arabia; whoſe authority continued there till in the year 578 they were conſtrained, as has been before related, to raiſe the ſiege of Mecca.

What has been ſaid ſeems ſufficient to make appear the intercourſe which has formerly ſubſiſted between the Ethiopians of Aſia and Africk; and to prove that they were anciently under the ſame maſter.

DISSER-

DISSERTATION VIII.

UPON

CIRCUMCISION.

IT hath appeared in the foregoing diſſertation, that the Abyſſins firmly adhere to a tradition long received among them, that Menelech, whom they regard as their firſt king, was the ſon of Solomon; who having been educated under the care of his father, did, upon his return to his own kingdom, introduce the religion of the Jews among his countrymen.

Some nevertheleſs maintain that this religion was long before received in Ethiopia, and affirm, that Moſes, when he fled out of Egypt, retreated to the Ethiopians, and was their firſt lawgiver. This is certain, that whether they received this inſtitution from Menelech the ſon of Solomon, or from Moſes, or whether they learned circumciſion from ſome deſcendant of Abraham, when they changed their place of habitation and went out of Aſia into Africk, their firm perſuaſion is, that they received this practice from the Jews.

Mr Ludolf, who never finds any thing blameable among the Abyſſins, except what they hold in common with the catholic church, endeavours to inſinuate,

that there is no neceſſity of imagining that this nation borrowed the rite of circumciſion from the Jews, ſince there is no poſſibility of diſcovering its original. Theſe are his words in the 3d book of his Ethiopic Hiſtory. "Qui "traditionem Habeſſinorum de regina Maqueda ad- "mittunt, ii fere ſunt qui putant eos cognitionem veri "Dei à tempore Solomonis habuiſſe; rituſque Judai- "cos, veluti circumciſionem, abſtinentiam a cibis lege "Moſaica vetitis, obſervationem Sabbati, conjugium "leviri cum glore, et ſimilia, originem ſuam inde trax- "iſſe. Verum cum iſti vel cum aliis gentibus, vel "cum Chriſtianis primitivæ eccleſiæ; qui ſeſe Judæis "accomodabant ut infra fuſius dicetur, communia ha- "beant, haud firmiter affirmaveris, veſtigia hæc eſſe "rituum a tot ſæculis ex ipſa Judæa acceptorum. "Nam circumciſionem non Judæi tantum, ſed etiam "aliæ gentes, et olim uſurparunt, et etiamnum uſurpant, "ſine ſcientia originis, aut cultus alicujus ſacri cogi- "tatione. Ægyptios illam primitus inſtituiſſe, vel ab "Æthiopibus didiciſſe: dehinc ad alias gentes, Col- "chos, Phœnices, Syros manaſſe vetuſtiſſimi hiſtorico- "rum ignoratione veræ originis tradiderunt. Alnajah "gens Æthiopum cultris lapideis circumciſionem per- "agit. Homeritas, ex quibus noſtri Habeſſini ori- "undi, inter alios expreſſe nominat Epiphanius. Ut "taceamus Troglodytas, Nigritas, aliaſque innumeras "gentes, quæ vel cauſam ejus ignorant, vel mundi- "tiem prætexunt, vel circumciſionem generationi uti- "lem eſſe fingunt, &c." And ſome lines afterwards: "Ad hæc permagna eſt inter Judæorum et aliarum "gentium circumciſionem differentia. Hæ enim geni- "talia tantum circumcidunt: illi vero pelliculam e- "tiam unguibus lacerant, ut glans plane detegatur,

"deciduo

" deciduo utrumque præputio." And then concludes: " Ex iſto ſolo intelligitur Habeſſinos eändem cum Ju- " dæis circumciſionem non uſurpare: neque ulla ali- " qua inſigni ceremonia aut commemoratione finis cu- " juſdam notabilis peragitur, quidquid etiam incomp- " tus ille Tzagazaabus ineptiat; patratur enim priva- " tim a muliercula quadam, remotis arbitris: idque ne " vir quidem ſpectare voluerit. Quod vero octavum " diem obſervent, id potiſſimam ſuſpicionem Judaiſmi " auxit. Sed omnem dubitationem tollit Claudii Æ- " thiopiæ regis confeſſio, qui, ſuſpicionem Judaiſmi de " ſe ſuiſque amoliturus ſic ait: Quod vero attinet ad " morem circumciſionis, non utique circumcidimur ſi- " cut Judæi, quia (nos) ſcimus verba doctrinæ Pauli " fontis ſapientiæ, qui dicit: Et circumcidi non pro- " deſt, et non circumcidi non juvat; ſed potius nova " creatio quæ eſt fides in domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto. " Et iterum dicit ad Corinthios: Qui aſſumpſit cir- " cumciſionem, non accipiat præputium. Omnes li- " bri doctrinæ Paulinæ ſunt apud nos, et docent nos " de circumciſione, et de præputio. Verum circumci- " ſio noſtra ſecundum conſuetudinem regionis fit, ſicut " inciſio faciei in Æthiopia et Nubia, et ſicut perfora- " tio auris apud Indos. Id autem, quod facimus, non " facimus ad obſervandas leges Moſaicas, ſed propter " morem humanum."

It was thought proper to give the reader the whole of what Mr Ludolf ſays concerning circumciſion at one view. He adds, in the Commentaries on his Hiſtory, that he hath ſhown the difference between the circumciſion of the Jews and that of the Abyſſins; and ſo clearly demonſtrated, that the Abyſſins have not received circumciſion from the Jews, and that it hath been practiſed for many ages among other nations, that there

is no neceſſity of producing any new arguments to confirm his opinion. " Clarius eſt quam ut nulla proba-
" tione egeat. Dum hæc ſcribo, incidi in quæſtio-
" nem inter quoſdam viros doctos agitatam, Num cir-
" cumciſio apud Judæos an apud Ægyptios primum
" cœperit; vel utra gens eam ab altera didicerit? Qui
" prius afferunt, pro ſe habent textum ſcripturæ——
" qui poſterius, nituntur teſtimoniis profanorum auto-
" rum—imprimis Herodoti." *Commen.* p. 269.

He tells us, that in writing on this ſubject, he has fallen upon a point much controverted among men of learning, who are in doubt whether circumciſion was firſt practiſed among the Egyptians or the Jews, and which of thoſe two nations received it from the other. Thoſe who attribute to the Jews the original of this ceremony have the authority of ſcripture on their ſide; and thoſe who eſpouſe the part of the Egyptians are ſupported by the credit of Herodotus, and other profane writers.

See here Moſes on one ſide and Herodotus on the other! See here the ſacred writings, the inſpirations of the Almighty, thrown into the balance againſt the fables of heathen hiſtory! See here their authority ſuppoſed of equal weight, and their teſtimonies cited with equal confidence! All that Mr Ludolf finds to object to the relation of Herodotus is, that he has not determined the preciſe time of the fact; ſo that the matter is to remain undecided till mankind is come to an agreement about the Egyptian computation. " Quia Herodotus
" nullum tempus determinat, vana ſunt cætera argu-
" menta." A little more poſitiveneſs had turned the ſcale in favour of Herodotus.

Grotius, that name ſo juſtly celebrated, was ſufficiently appriſed how much this way of reaſoning turned

ed to the advantage of infidelity, and therefore oppoſed it with all the power of his learning; and was ſo ſucceſsful in this laudable attempt, that he has made plain from a multitude of different authors, what religion teaches us to believe, that God in commanding Abraham to uſe the rite of circumciſion, meant it a mark of covenant between his poſterity and the Creator, and that every other nation that hath practiſed circumciſion learned it from him or his deſcendants.

Mr Ludolf, who has told us all he knew on this point, has been in care to overlook this teſtimony of Grotius, which entirely overthrows the reaſonings of Marſham and his followers. To anſwer Grotius, it is neceſſary to prove that ſome nation was circumciſed before Abraham; to find ſome author either contemporary with Moſes, or of equal authority; and when he is found, it will be proper to examine whether ſuch a teſtimony deſerves more regard than the tradition which is ſtill preſerved among the Abyſſins, that they practiſe circumciſion in memory of their king Menelech the ſon of Solomon.

It is true, that in the confeſſion of faith given by the emperor Claudius, otherwiſe Aſnaf Segued, it is ſaid that their circumciſion is of a nature different from that of the Jews, and that it is continued amongſt them, not becauſe it is directed by the law of Moſes, but in compliance with an ancient cuſtom. To which may be added the declaration of Eben-Aſſal. Circumciſion (ſays he) is ſtill retained among the Cophtes and Abyſſins, not as a rite directed by heaven, but only as a cuſtom. The law anciently directed that it ſhould be done on the eighth day, and circumciſion performed at any other time was reckoned invalid; which is the reaſon

that thoſe who have received the new law, and yet are circumciſed, do not do it on the eighth day; and are of opinion that it is not allowed to make uſe of that day to this purpoſe. Circumciſion is, upon the whole, a thing which may either be done or omitted among us; ſo that they who continue to uſe it, do it not as a thing impoſed by law. Tecla Mariam ſays nearly the ſame thing in his anſwer to the queſtions put to him by the cardinals.

Circumciſion gave room in the infancy of the church to a great number of diſputes; but the deciſion of the firſt council of Jeruſalem is well known. It is well known likewiſe that there was a controverſy on this account between St Peter and St Paul; and that St Paul made no ſcruple of circumciſing Timothy his diſciple, after he had declared that it was lawful to circumciſe or not to circumciſe. The firſt biſhops of Jeruſalem continued to be circumciſed; but when it was obſerved, that the Jews made ſo bad an uſe of this complaiſance toward them, that they inſiſted on circumciſion as an eſſential rite, great endeavours were uſed to undeceive them, as appears from Juſtin Martyr's dialogue with Tryphon; in which having owned that he thought a Jew converted to Chriſtianity, and living agreeably to its precepts, though he ſhould ſtill retain his veneration for the law of Moſes, in a ſtate of ſalvation, provided he did not oblige others to follow his example; he ſays, that no communion ought to be allowed with thoſe who, while they make profeſſion of the religion of Jeſus, compel all thoſe Gentiles who have embraced the ſame faith to follow the law of Moſes.

This teſtimony of Juſtin Martyr plainly ſhows the conduct of the primitive church towards the Jews; but when

when the Jews contended for circumciſion as a neceſſary inſtitution, it was entirely laid aſide.

The biſhops who from the time of the apoſtles governed the church of Alexandria never were circumciſed; ſo that Frumentius, who was ſent by St Athanaſius to preach the Chriſtian faith in Abyſſinia, was certainly uncircumciſed. Nor is there any probability that, when he converted them, he permitted them to retain the uſe of circumciſion, which was practiſed amongſt the Chriſtians of Egypt. Ibn Aſſal ſays juſtly, that the Cophtes and Abyſſins were circumciſed, but makes no mention of the other Chriſtians in Egypt; which makes it thought that the Cophtes, having, by the favour of the Turks, continued maſters of the church of Alexandria, might receive the cuſtom of circumciſion in complaiſance to their protectors; that at firſt every one was at liberty to uſe it, and afterwards every one was obliged.

About the year 836, James the 50th patriarch of Alexandria conſecrated John metropolitan of Ethiopia, and ſent him into that empire, where he had the charge of the church, which he held for ſome time, till a knot of the nobility caballed againſt him; and having brought others over to their party, drove him out of the country. About the ſame time Ethiopia groaned under the complicated miſeries of war, peſtilence, and famine; their armies were routed and put to flight whenever they came in ſight of the enemy. The Abyſſins were eaſily perſuaded that the violence and indignities offered to their metropolitan had brought theſe evils upon them, and therefore recalled and reeſtabliſhed him. But the Queen, whoſe malice was not yet ſatisfied, raiſed new perſecutions againſt the Abuna, and left him only the choice of being circumciſed, or leaving the kingdom. John choſe to undergo

circumciſion; and being ſtripped, had upon him, by a ſingular miracle, ſay the Cophtes and Abyſſins, evident tokens that he had been circumciſed on the eighth day.

Two patriarchs of Alexandria, Mark the ſon of Zara, and John the ſon of Abagaleb, who preſided over that church at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries, would have eſtabliſhed an opinion that circumciſion was abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation, and publiſhed many writings in defence of their ſentiments; which were anſwered by Mark the ſon of Elcumbar; who proved that circumciſion was one of thoſe ſuperſtitions which ought to be laid aſide. It was at length determined, after a long and warm diſpute, that circumciſion was a thing indifferent, and left to every man's choice; but that thoſe who continued the practice ſhould perform it without ceremony, and never in the church; and that none after having received baptiſm ſhould be circumciſed. It is obſerved by Alvarez, that the Abyſſins in his time conformed to that decree, circumciſion being a thing of choice, and practiſed without formality, though they alleged that it was commanded by God.

He relates one account which, if it were true, would be no leſs wonderful than what hath been already related of John the Abuna. A prieſt affirmed to him, that not having been ſuffered by his father, who was a Frank, to be circumciſed, he had lain down one night after his father's death, with a ſtrong deſire of doing now what had been ſo long forbidden him; and when he roſe in the morning found the marks of circumciſion upon him; which, ſaid he, is a plain indication that the practice is approved by God, who otherwiſe would not have wrought a miracle to countenance it. He was anſwered by Alvarez, that he muſt have no

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mean opinion of himſelf, to imagine that God wrought a ſpecial miracle to bring him from an imperfect condition to a ſtate of perfection; and that there was reaſon to fear that it was rather an illuſion of the devil than a miracle of God.

It appears from all theſe ſtories how much the Abyſſins are prejudiced in favour of circumciſion; and although by the conſtitutions of their church every one is at liberty, yet there are times in which they enforce the practice of it upon others, as is clear from the excommunication iſſued out againſt them on the 12th of February 1559, by Andrew Oviedo then biſhop of Hierapolis, and coadjutor to the patriarch John Nugnez Barretto. This excommunication imports, among other things, that the Abyſſins refuſe to ſubmit themſelves to the pope, and to acknowledge the power of the Roman ſee; that they obſerve the Sabbath, which is lately crept in amongſt them; that they practiſe circumciſion, and make their ſlaves and thoſe who are converted to Chriſtianity be circumciſed, often making violence where they cannot obtain a compliance; that they eſteem it a ſin to eat ſwines fleſh; that they hold the man criminal, who, having converſed with his wife, ſhall enter a church the ſame day. It is not probable that this father would have excommunicated the Abyſſins had not theſe faults been certainly proved upon them.

The patriarch Alphonſo Mendez confirms the foregoing account; and adds, that the Abyſſins, in excuſe of their zeal for circumciſion, affirm, that they do not practiſe it in obedience to the law of Moſes, but for the ſame reaſon that they cut their hair and nails, for the ſake of cleanlineſs; St Paul having ſhown by circumciſing

cifing his diſciple Timothy, that it was nothing criminal or forbidden. They nevertheleſs look on uncircumciſion as a mark of infamy; nor do they think any term of reproach more ſevere than *cofa*, that is, *uncircumciſed*. Such a man they will not allow to eat with them, but break all the cups which he had made uſe of, and call in the prieſts with their ritual to purify the veſſels which he has polluted by eating or drinking in them.

What ſtill more evidently ſhows their zealous adherence to this rite is, that after they had driven the Jeſuits, and with them the Catholic religion, out of Ethiopia, a decree was iſſued out, commanding all the young people, who during the confuſion of religious affairs had not been circumciſed, to conform immediately to the ancient cuſtom; and if a rude ſoldier met with any that had not the marks of circumciſion upon him, he gave him a ſtroke upon the part with his lance to ſerve him inſtead of it.

But however rigidly the Abyſſins may retain circumciſion, they are ſtill more zealous in obſerving the Sabbath; though perhaps this practice is not more ancient than the former; for their preſent rigorous exactneſs was not in uſe till the time of the Emperor Zara Jacob. There is in the monaſtery of Byzen a monument of one Abba Philip, whom the Abyſſins reverence as a ſaint, obſerving his feſtival yearly in July. The moſt important and celebrated action of his life was, that once when the Emperor of Abyſſinia would have obliged his ſubjects to work on Saturday, he repreſented to him that God had commanded that day to be kept holy, in ſuch ſtrong and moving terms, that the edict was revoked.

Mr Ludolf, however, endeavouring every where to apo-

apologize for the Abyſſins, produces an excuſe for them here from the Emperor Aſuaf Segued's declaration or profeſſion of faith; where it is alleged that they do not ſanctify the Sabbath after the way of the Jews, and that they obſerve Sunday in a manner very different. The Abba Gregory aſſured him that on Saturday they only refrained from more laborious employments.

" Quod vero attinet ad celebrationem noſtram, priſ-
" ci Sabbati diei; non ſane celebramus illud ſicut Ju-
" dæi; quic rucifixerunt Chriſtum, dicentes, 'Sanguis
" ejus ſuper nos et ſuper liberos noſtros.' Quia illi
" Judæi neque hauriunt aquam, neque accendunt ig-
" nem, neque coquunt ferculum, neque pinſunt pa-
" nem, neque migrant de domo, in domum. Nos au-
" tem ita celebramus illud, ut adminiſtremus in eo ſa-
" cram cœnam et exhibeamus in eo Agapas (id eſt con-
" vivia charitatis pauperibus vel viduis dari ſolita) ſi-
" cut præceperunt nobis patres noſtri apoſtoli in Dida-
" ſcalia. Non celebramus illud ita Sabbatum, i. e. fe-
" riæ primæ, quæ dies eſt nova, de qua David ait, 'Hæc
" eſt dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et læte-
" mur in ed:' quia in ea reſurrexit Dominus noſter
" Jeſus Chriſtus, et in ea deſcendit Spiritus ſanctus ſu-
" per apoſtolos in Cænaculo Sionis, et in ea veniet in-
" terum ad remunerationem juſtorum et ultionem pec-
" catorum."

We cannot but make two remarks; that Mr Ludolf affects to tranſlate by Sacra Cæna what we call the ſacrifice of the altar; and that he uſes the word *agape* for thoſe charities diſtributed to the poor in thoſe great communions where meat and drink are given: Nor can we omit obſerving, that the emperor makes

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uſe of an extraordinary way of reaſoning, to prove that they do not ſanctify the Saturday, when he affirms that they celebrate maſs and diſtribute alms on that day, as if that was not ſanctifying it.

Mr Ludolf cannot but know, that when in the time of Sultan Segued, an inſurrection in the kingdom of Damot was ſuppreſſed by Raſſela Chriſtos, one of the ſevereſt puniſhments inflicted by him on the rebellious people was, that he obliged them to labour on a Saturday: Nor is he ignorant that in the collection of canons reverenced by the Abyſſins in the ſame degree with the goſpel, the obſervation of the Sabbath is forbidden, and that the twenty ninth canon of the council of Laodicea directs to work on Saturday.

The Abyſſins eat no kind of fleſh forbidden by the law; and one of the means uſed to inſpire into the people an implacable hatred of the miſſionaries, was to tell them that the fathers did eat ſwines and hares fleſh, and mingled it with the conſecrated wafers. In vain it is urged againſt them that the uſe of theſe meats is indifferent; that the Banians eat nothing that hath life; and that the Tartars eat the fleſh of camels and horſes conformably to a cuſtom long eſtabliſhed in their country; that to eat horſes and camels is not forbidden by any precept of religion; and that the Banians do not profeſs Chriſtianity.

The Jewiſh rites are in many other inſtances obſerved by the Abyſſins; one brother takes the wife of another; the men do not enter a church the day after they have converſed with their wives; nor do the women come to the divine worſhip after child-birth till the days of their purification are over; which for a

girl are 24. They faſt thrice in February in commemoration of the penitence of the Ninevites: Their manner of chaunting the pſalms has a great conformity with that of the Jews: And indeed in ſo many things do they agree, that it would not be eaſy to determine whether the Abyſſins are more Jews or Chriſtians.

DIS-

DISSERTATION IX.

ON THE CONVERSION OF THE ABYSSINS.

AFTER the aſcenſion of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt into heaven, his apoſtles divided themſelves, and went to carry the light of his goſpel into various countries: St Bartholomew preached to the Arabs; St Thomas travelled into Parthia; and St Matthew applied himſelf to the converſion of the Nubians, where he found his work facilitated, and the nation diſpoſed for the reception of Chriſtianity, by Philip the eunuch of Queen Candace, who had already ſown the firſt ſeeds of religion, which St Matthew cultivated and raiſed to fruit: He did not, however, travel far up into the country, the converſon of the Abyſſins being reſerved for the age of St Athanaſius patriarch of Alexandria; which great event is thus related by Ruſinus.

Meropius the philoſopher, a native of Tigre, took a reſolution to travel, either that he might enjoy the converſation of other philoſophers, or for the ſake of traffic, which was not thought inconſiſtent with the profeſſion of philoſophy; the Abyſſins themſelves give him

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no higher title than that of merchant. This man, after having wandered over all India, determined at length to return home with two young men, his kinſmen, and the companions of his travels; and touching at an iſland in the Red-Sea, the rude inhabitants, unaccuſtomed to the ſight of ſtrangers, fell upon him and cut him in pieces. This ſtory is told by the Abyſſins in a different manner, that Meropius fell ſick and died upon this iſland, and that the people ſeized on Frumentius and Edeſius his companions, that they might preſent them to the king, who gave them a kind reception, placed them near his perſon, and advanced them. Finding in Frumentius a greater capacity, he made him his treaſurer, and Edeſius his butler: in which poſt each behaved himſelf with ſo great applauſe, that ſome time after when the king died and left his ſon under the guardianſhip of the queen, ſhe would not grant either of them the permiſſion they deſired of leaving the kingdom, but left the management of public affairs entirely to Frumentius; who made uſe of this new authority to bring the people under his inſpection to the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt. Then he informed himſelf whether there were not ſome Chriſtian merchants in Abyſſinia, and whether ſome did not come to that iſland; and finding that they did, he contracted a nearer acquaintance with them, granting them great privileges, and places to aſſemble in a public manner; and ſoon after accuſtomed the Abyſſins to our ceremonies, and excited in them a great deſire of being inſtructed in our myſteries; and in ſhort prepared them ſo well to receive the goſpel, that nothing but labourers were wanting to complete what he had happily begun.

Neither diſtance of place, nor length of time, nor

the honours to which they had been raiſed, could efface in Frumentius and Edeſius the love which every one ſo naturally feels for his native country; ſo when the young king was of age to take the government into his own hands, they implored and obtained leave to viſit their kindred. Edeſius went to Tyre, and Frumentius to Alexandria, where he found St Athanaſius newly made biſhop of that great city; and applying himſelf to him, gave him an account of his voyages, and told him with how little difficulty all Abyſſinia might be brought over to Chriſtianity.

We need only recollect the warmth of zeal with which St Athanaſius defended the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt, to apprehend how great was his tranſport at meeting with an opportunity to extend the Chriſtian name. He ſpent no time in deliberating whom he ſhould delegate to this important charge, but conſecrated Frumentius biſhop, and ſent him into Abyſſinia; where the progreſs he made ſurpaſſed the utmoſt hopes which had been formed either by himſelf or St Athanaſius. Never did any nation embrace Chriſtianity with greater ardour, or defend it with more courage than the Abyſſins. Their biſhop had gained their affections; and as they were prepoſſeſſed in his favour, they were eaſily perſuaded that the religion which he came to preach was the only true one.

Conſtantius the emperor, a great enemy to conſubſtantiality, who looked on the defenders of it as innovators and corrupters of the Chriſtian religion, made uſe of many expedients to introduce Arianiſm into Ethiopia, by ſending ambaſſadors, and writing to the kings Abra and Aſba, to prevail upon them that Frumentius the biſhop of Axuma might be put into the hands of George, lately made patriarch of Alexandria

by

by the Arians, in the place of Athanaſius, whom they had forced to quit the ſee, and retire to a place of obſcurity. The letter is preſerved down to us by Athanaſius himſelf, in his apology addreſſed to Conſtantius.

All theſe endeavours were ineffectual; the Abyſſins continued to hold the faith uncorrupted. And though Philoſtorgus erroneouſly affirms, that an Arian biſhop was hearkened to at Axuma, and eſtabliſhed his notions there, they refuſed to deliver up Frumentius, and adhered to his doctrine and perſon with the ſame unſhaken reſolution. Such was the care of the holy biſhop, that no ſchiſm or hereſy raiſed its head, or diſturbed the peace of his church; and ſo mild and amiable was his conduct, that the nation, which was charmed with it, gave him, according to their cuſtom, a new name, *Abba Salama*, the pacific father.

As the church of Abyſſinia acknowledges the church of Alexandria as its mother, it is ſubject to it in a particular manner, not having the liberty enjoyed by other churches of electing her own biſhop. This ſubjection is as ancient as their converſion to Chriſtianity, and confirmed by that book of canons which the Abyſſins hold in equal eſteem with the ſacred writings.

This canon is the 36th of Turrien's Collection, and the 42d of the Verſion of Abraham Ecchellenſis. I give it as it appears in each of thoſe books, without intending to write a formal criticiſm upon that collection, thought by ſome learned men to be nothing more than a bad tranſlation of the Codex Canonum Univerſalis, to which the tranſlator has made what additions he pleaſed.

" Ut non poſſint Ethiopes creare nec eligere patri-
" archam, quin potius eorum prælatis ſub poteſtate

" ejus ſit qui tenet ſedem Alexandriæ, ſit tamen apud " eos loco patriarchæ et appelletur Catholicus. Non " tamen jus habeat conſtituendi archiepiſcopos, ut ha- " bet patriarcha; ſiquidem non habet patriarchæ ho- " norem et poteſtatem. Quod ſi acciderit ut conci- " lium in Græcia habeatur, fueritque præſens hic pre- " latus Ethiopum habeat ſeptimum locum poſt præ- " latum Seleuciæ; et quando facta fuerit ei poteſtas " conſtituendi Archiepiſcopos in provincia ſua, non " licebit illi conſtituere aliquem ex illis." We do not underſtand the laſt words, " non licebit illi conſtituere " aliquem ex illis."

This canon is thus tranſlated by Abraham Ecchellenſis: " Ne patriarcham ſibi conſtituant Ethiopes ex ſuis " doctoribus, neque propria electione, quia patriarcha " ipſorum eſt conſtitutus ſub Alexandrini poteſtate, " cujus eſt ipſis ordinare et præficere Catholicum, qui " inferior patriarcha eſt; cui præfato in patriarcham " conſtituto, nomine Catholici, non licebit metropoli- " tanos conſtituere, ſicut conſtituunt patriarchæ; ete- " nim honor nominis patriarchatus illi defertur tan- " tummodo, non vero poteſtas, porro ſi acciderit, ut " congregetur ſynodus in terra Romanorum, et adfue- " rit iſte, ſedeat loco octavo poſt dominum Seleuciæ, " qua eſt *Almo-Dajoint* nempe *Babilonia Harac*; quo- " niam iſti facta eſt poteſtas conſtituendi epiſcopos ſuæ " provinciæ, prohibitumque fuit ne ullus eorum ipſum " conſtituat."

Many remarks might be made upon this canon; from which it appears, that the Abyſſins have not the power of electing their patriarch; that when they had the power of electing him, they might not pitch upon an Abyſſin; that he is ſo far ſubordinate to the patriarch of Alexandria, that none but the patriarch can e-

lect

lect and conſecrate him: which ſhows either the inſincerity or ignorance of Zago-Zabo, who ſaid the Abyſſin religious at Jeruſalem choſe their patriarch; that though he is honoured with the title of patriarch, he is not inveſted with the authority, yet he bears the title of Catholic, and has the next ſeat to the biſhop of Seleucia; that catholic-like patriarch is no more than an empty title without the power, ſince all other biſhops ſo diſtinguiſhed may conſtitute archbiſhops and metropolitans, which the patriarch of Abyſſinia cannot do.

As this canon is one of the moſt important relating to the government of the church of Abyſſinia, it might be of uſe to examine at what time, and on what occaſion, it was made. It is not known that the patriarch of Abyſſinia ever aſſiſted at any council; ſo that the rank he had held there could not by any preſcription influence this regulation: nor is there any probability that any care was taken about adjuſting his rank ſince his ſeparation from the Catholic church. The Jacobites never convened any council. Theſe canons never appeared in Greek, nor were ever cited by any of the Greek writers; which makes the conjecture probable, that it was made at Alexandria before the Arabs made themſelves maſters of it, and was afterwards adopted by the church of Antioch. The Abyſſins are ſo bigotted to the church of Alexandria, that they account it a great ſin to doubt of the authority of her canons; nor have ever thought of withdrawing their necks from the yoke, how heavy ſoever they have found it. This is without doubt one of the principal cauſes of that ignorance which prevails among them; for that part of this celebrated canon which forbids their metropolitan to be a native, has always been exactly obſerved by

the Alexandrian patriarchs: ſo that perhaps no Abuna was ever capable of converſing with his flock; which certainly muſt much hinder him from forming a judgment of the capacities of thoſe ordained by him. The offices are performed, and the ſacraments adminiſtered, in the ancient language of the country, which is not now underſtood, and muſt be learned as a foreign tongue; nor is the Abuna ordinarily more ſkilled in this than in the common ſpeech.

Mr Ludolf has erroneouſly aſſerted that the Abyſſins were always Jacobites, though he doth not deny that they received the faith in the time of Athanaſius; a contradiction unpardonable! The names of Jacobite and Eutychian were not then known in the world; and Frumentius, the delegate of Athanaſius, could not teach the hereſy before the author of it was born. The Abyſſins therefore were not Jacobites in the ſixth century; nor was the king Caleb or Eleſbas of that ſect, if we may give any credit to the acts of the martyr St Aretas, which was known to Mr Ludolf, who tells us that the Ethiopian manuſcripts agree with the Latin writings.

"Quis celebris iſte rex fuerit nunc demum recte "cognitum eſt, poſtquam Alph. Mendezius patriarcha "Luſitanus in Ethiopia, relationem ſuam edidit, ex "qua B. Tellez ſequentia exſcripit. Iſte rex Eleſbas, "Ethiopibus Calebus dictus, valde ſanctus vir fuit, et "pro tali celebratur ab eccleſia Romana, in cujus mar-"tyrologio reperitur die 16. Octob. vitam illius deſcrip-"ſit Simeon Metaphraſtes, &c. Eadem hiſtoria E-"thiopicè verbo tenus reddita reperitur in ſynaxariis "Ethiopum, que ſunt quaſi illorum flos ſanctorum." And ſomewhat lower, "Alphonſus Mendez ſupra dic-"tus, qui hanc hiſtoriam cum libris Ethiopum contu-

"lit,

" lit, referente Tellezio, ait, ſtupenda eſt conformitas " quæ reperitur in libris Latinis et Ethiopicis quos " contuli exactiſſima diligentia. Illi enim verbo tenus " cum noſtris conveniunt in verbis, quæ habent ſurius " et baronius." *Ludolf's Comment.* p. 232.

After theſe inconteſtable evidences that Eleſbas was a Catholic, Mr Ludolf is pleaſed to make a queſtion of it; and it appears by his deciſion, that the Roman church has put in the number of her ſaints a prince who diſowned the council of Chalcedon, and anathematiſed Pope Leo; and that the Jeſuits, ſo firmly attached to the court of Rome, wrote the encomium of an heretical king. Abſurdities which will hardly be credited!

But ſince the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez is the original upon which Balthazar Tellez has built his hiſtory, let us hear that author's own words: " Ex hi- " ſtoria regis Caleb, Facenæ fillii, quem noſtri Eleſ- " baan dicunt, et ad diem 27. Octobris ſanctorum ca- " talogo apponunt indubitatum evadit, novem illos " Monachos inter ſeptuageſimum vel octogeſimum " quinti ſæculi annum in Ethiopiam penetraſſe. Nam " anno quingenteſſimo vigeſimo ſecundo, qui fuit quin- " tus Juſtini Imperatoris, rex ille piiſſimus, ipſius et " Aſterii patriarchæ Alexandrini hortatu, expedition- " em adverſus Hunan Judæum Homeritarum Tyran- " num et ſanctorum martyrum Aretæ et Sociorum ter- " centum et quadraginta interfectorem ſuſcepit; con- " ſulto prius Monacho, qui ante quadraginta et quinque " annos in vicinam Auxumæ turrim ſe intulerat, à quo " totius belli eventum anticipato eſt edoctus; cujus " nomen noſtri annales ſilentio ſupprimunt, ſed Ethio- " pici et omnium in ea regione linguæ unanimi con-

" ſenſu et traditione pantaleonem, unum ex illis ſanc-
" tis novem Monachis, fuiſſe conſpirant."

The Abyſſins received the faith from an apoſtle truly orthodox, and preſerved it in its purity, till the Arabs, getting poſſeſſion of Alexandria, eſpouſed the party of the Jacobites, who had been engaged in contention for ſuperiority; and now being ſupported by the power of the conquerors, diſpoſſeſſed the Melchites of their churches, ſent an Abuna of their ſect into Ethiopia, and propagated their opinion in the Eaſt with little oppoſition.

It doth not appear that in thoſe calamitous times, or in any other, the Abyſſins ever applied to Rome. The letter of Pope Alexander III. cannot be proved to have been written to the king of Ethiopia; and that of the Abba Nicodemus to Pope Eugene IV. carries more evident marks of forgery. Nor can any certain proof be produced of an intercourſe between the Popes and the Abyſſins.

Francis Alvarez, a Portugueſe prieſt, is the firſt who has given us any account of this country that can be depended on. He travelled thither in the train of Rodriguez de Lima, the king of Portugal's ambaſſador, as chaplain to the embaſſy, and has given an exact relation, which has ſtood the teſt of examination; nor have any cavilling objections leſſened its reputation. From this account we learn, that the empreſs Helena, grandmother and governeſs of the emperor David, finding herſelf attacked on all ſides, implored the aſſiſtance of the king of Portugal, and ſent on that meſſage an envoy named Matthew, who was received by Don Emanuel with great joy. This prince already reckoning Abyſſinia among the kingdoms which he had ſubjected to the Catholic church, fixed upon Edward

ward Galvan, whoſe abilities had been tried in many important negociations, for his ambaſſador to the emperor of Ethiopia, and fitted out a conſiderable fleet to tranſport him thither, of which he entruſted the command to Lopez Alvarez. This fleet ſet ſail, and met with a proſperous paſſage; but the ambaſſador, being of a great age, died in the Iſle of Camaran. The deſigns of Don Emanuel were retarded by this unfortunate accident four years; and what was ſtill worſe, Rodriguez de Lima, who was named to ſucceed in the embaſſy, neither had the wiſdom nor the experience of his predeceſſor, being capricious, inſolent, and haughty in the laſt degree. He arrived at Abyſſinia in April 1520.

The ambaſſador was accompanied by Matthew the Empreſs's envoy, and a numerous train. Matthew fell ſick when he entered Abyſſinia, and died in a houſe belonging to the monaſtery of Biſan. I do not here relate all that happened remarkable in this embaſſy, of which Alvarez's ample account may be conſulted, but content myſelf with giving an extract. Don Rodriguez continued in that country ſix years, not coming away till 1526. He left with the Emperor John Bermudes his phyſician, who was afterwards patriarch of Ethiopia, and brought away Chriſtopher Licanare, more known by the name of Zagazabo, with the title of ambaſſador to the king of Portugal, and Francis Alvarez, who was now dignified with the office of ambaſſador from the Emperor to Pope Clement VII. The fleet which carried all theſe ambaſſadors left Goa in the beginning of January 1527, and caſt anchor in the Tagus on the 25th of July; but as they were going to land, they received information that the plague raged at Liſbon, and were therefore obliged to paſs forward

ward to Santaren, two leagues higher; where the three ambaſſadors landing, went to Conimbre to pay their compliments to the king of Portugal, being preceded by all the prelates and perſons of quality. The Marquis de Villareal conducted the ambaſſador of Portugal to the king, who favoured him with a gracious audience.

Zagazabo did not go to Rome, but continued in Portugal, where John de Barros, the famous hiſtorian, who has written ſo admirable an account of the affairs of the Indies, and Damian Goez, aſked him what queſtions they imagined neceſſary to a knowledge of the ſtate of Ethiopia, and committed to writing the informations they received from him; which however are not much to be depended upon, his anſwers being generally filled with exaggerations, and even with direct falſehoods. Father Nicholas Godigno, a Jeſuit, ſpeaks of them in the following ſevere terms: "Mul-
"ta ſunt ab iiſdem Abaſſinis magnifice narrato vulgo
"credita, et à quibuſdam ex noſtris memoriæ tradita,
"quæ falſa eſſe certo poſtea deprehendimus. Inde
"factum, ut Damianus Goez et Joannes Barius aliique
"alioquin diligentes, et amantes veritatis auctores non
"pauca hoc de genere ſcripſerint, quæ longe à vero
"diſtare, nullus fere Luſitanorum ignorat. Damia-
"num et alios ea tempeſtate fefellit Zagazabus, quem
"ad Joannem Regem Abiſſinus Imperator oratorem
"miſit. Hic enim non contentus res ſuas nimium ex-
"aggerare et in majus attolere, plurima inſuper com-
"mentus eſt, quæ homines ſinceri ac minime mali cum
"à veritate abhorrere ne ſuſpicari quidem poſſent, pro
"veris accepta poſteritati commendarunt. Sed cujuſ-
"modi illa eſſent, anni inſequentes patefecerunt. Ita-
"que et ſi ab eo, quo dixi, tempore, aliquam habere

"cœpimus

" cœpimus Abaſſini Imperii cognitionem; id tamen " non ante nobis probe cognitum, quum et Joannes " Bermondius Patriarcha, de quo poſtea non nihil re- " feram, à Romano potifice ex Italia miſſus, illuc iiſſet; " et Stephanus Gama dux Luſitanus cum armatâ mili- " tum manu ad eaſdem tarras ex India trajeciſſet; et " multi poſtea ex noſtris diu ibidem commorantes per " ſe paulatim ſingula fuiſſent experti. Ab anno qui- " dem nati Chriſti 1560, quo religioſi Societatis Jeſu " in Abaſſiam ſunt ingreſſi, ſic omnia Luſitanis patere, " ut non ſecus ea quam propria et domeſtica norint; " adeoque res conſtant, ut ſiquis nunc de Abaſſinorum " imperio ſcribat quid quam, aut proferat quod vel le- " viter à vero deflectat, illico coargui poſſit falſitatis." And in page 241, " Non me latet Zagazabum illum, " de quo ſæpius memini, multos Abaſſinorum ſuorum " excuſaſſe errores; cumque negare rem ipſam utpote " noſtris notiſſimam, non poſſet, legalem animum ne- " gaſſe. Sed jam monui ab illo Damianum Goez, et " alios per idem tempus hiſtoricos fuiſſe deceptos, mul- " taque ex ejus narratione mandaſſe litteris, quæ fal- " ſa fuiſſe deprehenſum poſtea eſt. Scio enim Teclam " Mariam Abaſſinum Monachum, de quo dicam infra, " in recenſendis ſuorum erroribus ſic à Zagazabo diſ- " crepaſſe, adeoque in hâc re male inter ſe convenire " Abaſſinos, qui apud nos ſunt, ut Thomas à Jeſu in " Theſauro ſuo de Abiſſinis agens, eorumque ex va- " riis autoribus ritus referens, merito dicat difficile eſſe " hiſce de rebus certum aliquid definire."

Alvarez had ſcarce breathed the air of Portugal, before he burned with impatience to throw himſelf at the feet of the Pope with his new commiſſion; but the king, who likewiſe deſigned an embaſſy to his Holineſs, could not fix upon a proper perſon. At length he

he determined to inveſt Don Martin his nephew with that character, who ſet out accompanied by Alvarez. In January 1533 they entered Bologna, where the Pope, and Charles V. who was to receive the crown from the hands of his Holineſs, then reſided. It may eaſily be imagined what a confluence of perſons of all ranks were drawn together by the expectation of ſeeing this auguſt ceremony performed. Alvarez, who had left Portugal only as chaplain to the ambaſſador of Portugal, had the pleaſure of appearing before this grand aſſembly in the character of ambaſſador from Ethiopia. He kiſſed the feet of his Holineſs in the name of David king of Abyſſinia, preſented him with letters from that prince, and made an harangue.

About this time a Mooriſh prince, ſurnamed *Grane* or *the left-handed*, made an irruption with fire and ſword into Ethiopia, and conquered great part of it without the leaſt reſiſtance. David, alarmed by the rapidity of his conqueſts, ſent John Bermudes to demand ſuccours from the Chriſtian princes. He, to make the greater haſte, croſſed the Red-Sea, and travelled through Paleſtine, being perſuaded that he ſhould with moſt certainty, and in the ſhorteſt time, arrive at Rome by that way. Never had ambaſſador greater ſucceſs in his negociation. He was made patriarch of Abyſſinia; and coming to Liſbon inveſted with his new dignity, obtained of King John the ſuccours he requeſted, returning from thence to the Indies, and taking Zagazabo with him. Stephen de Gama fitted out a numerous fleet, entered the Red-Sea, and landed in Abyſſinia 400 Portugueſe ſoldiers, under the command of his brother Don Chriſtopher de Gama; which handful of men preſerved Abyſſinia from ruin, and fixed the crown on the head of Claudius the eldeſt ſon

of

of David; a great ſervice, very ill acknowledged and requited. The young emperor forced the patriarch Bermudes out of his dominions, diſperſing the Portugueſe into different provinces, contrary to the promiſe he had made of putting them in poſſeſſion of the third part of his territories if they would deliver him from the victorious armies of his enemy. Pope Julius and the king of Portugal having received information of all that had paſſed in Abyſſinia, came to a reſolution of ſending another patriarch and two biſhops. The perſon choſen for the patriarchate was John Nuguez Barretti, a man more venerable for his ſanctity than his learning, though he had the reputation of being the greateſt ſcholar of the ſociety. The two biſhops were Melchior Carneyro of Conimbre, who was made biſhop of Nice, and Andrew Oviedo, who was dignified with the title of Biſhop of Hierapolis.

Though theſe prelates were nominated in the time of Julius III. the patriarch and biſhop of Hierapolis did not ſet out till 1556, taking with them ten Jeſuits. The viceroy Petro Maſcarenas had ſent James Dias into Abyſſinia with the title of ambaſſador, to diſcover the diſpoſition of King Claudius; giving him Father Gonzalez Rodriguez, a Jeſuit, for his companion. The precaution was juſt: the ambaſſador met with a kind reception; but when he came to tell the ſubject of his embaſſy, was ſoon given to underſtand, that the emperor was by no means pleaſed that the pope and the king of Portugal ſhould be ſo forward to intermeddle with the affairs of his conſcience and his empire. Father Rodriguez returned to the Indies; where it was determined, upon the information which he brought, that the patriarch ſhould remain at Goa, and that the biſhop of Hieropolis ſhould go to Abyſſinia. He took with

with him five companions, and had a voyage doubly proſperous, landing in Abyſſinia five days before the Turks got poſſeſſion of Mazua and Arkiko, the two places of eaſieſt entrance into that country. Their ſucceſs however was not agreeable to theſe proſperous beginnings.

The king of Abyſſinia valued himſelf upon underſtanding his own religion better than any other perſon; and therefore would voluntarily engage in frequent diſputations, by which, as he always thought himſelf victorious, he was made more arrogant and obſtinate. The moſt fallacious arguments were received from his mouth with loud applauſe, while his opponent could not make himſelf heard; or if he was liſtened to, all he ſaid was turned to ridicule, and anſwered by reproaches. The biſhop of Hierapolis attacked him more than once without quitting the conteſt; but finding that no good was to be expected from perſonal conferences, reſolved to write. The king read the book, and ſpoke with ſome contempt of the arguments which it contained; telling him at the ſame time, that nothing ſhould oblige him to forſake the religion of his anceſtors, and ſubmit himſelf to the biſhop of Rome. This he ſpoke in a tone which gave the biſhop ſufficient reaſon to believe that he ſhould never make any great advances in his buſineſs at court, and that it would be prudent to remove from it; whereupon he withdrew into the provinces, where God poured out his bleſſing upon the labours of theſe new apoſtles, who had made a much greater harveſt had the province been at peace, though they were not without receiving ſome advantage from the tumults of thoſe times; for it is probable that the king, who ſaw with uneaſineſs the progreſs made by the Jeſuits, would have

come to the laſt extremities had he not been hindered by the war in which he was engaged.

Nur the king of Adel laid all the country waſte, and penetrated into the very centre of Abyſſinia; and Claudius marching againſt him, loſt the battle together with his life, being ſucceeded, becauſe he had no children, by his brother Adam; a prince who had all the bad qualities of his brother, without any of the good. It is ſaid, that being a long time priſoner among the Arabs, he embraced their religion, which he did not abjure till he was ranſomed by his brother. He received favourably enough the compliments paid him by the miſſionaries on his acceſſion to the throne; but was no ſooner informed of the numerous converts made by them, than he called the biſhop of Hieropolis before him, and with an air of fierceneſs and cruelty, forbade him on pain of death to continue to preach the doctrines of the church of Rome. He was anſwered by the biſhop, that his menaces ſhould not affright him from his duty, and that nothing could happen to him more welcome than an opportunity of dying for the faith he came to preach; that he might take off his head, or expoſe him to wild beaſts, but ſhould never hinder his labours for the ſalvation of ſouls. With theſe words he let his robe fall, preſented his head, and with his hands and eyes raiſed towards heaven, beſought the Almighty that he might be thought worthy of martyrdom. The king, unable to bear the freedom of ſpeech uſed by this generous prelate, fell upon him in a rage, tore his clothes, and with blows forced him out of his preſence; commanding, ſoon after, that Francis Lobo and he ſhould be taken to an uninhabited mountain, frequented only by wild beaſts. They were indeed recalled ſome time after

ter from this diſmal habitation; but that calm was of ſhort continuance, and the tempeſt of perſecution raged again, involving in diſtreſs not only the miſſionaries, but likewiſe ſuch of the Abyſſins as had been perſuaded by their preaching to embrace the Roman religion. Thus paſſed the whole reign of Adam Segued; baniſhment, impriſonment, and favour, alternately ſucceeding each other.

The Turks and Bharnagaſh uniting their forces againſt Adam Segued, routed him entirely, and ſo much ſhattered his army, that, being no longer able to keep the field, he was compelled to retire and abſcond in the mountains, where he led an unhappy reſtleſs life till he died in the year following, that is, in 1563.

About the ſame time arrived an account of the death of the patriarch in the Indies; and Don Sebaſtian, in deſpair of ever being able to unite Abyſſinia to the church of Rome, entreated the Pope that he would recall the miſſionaries, and ſend them into China, Japan, and other places, where their labours might be more effectual. The Pope, in compliance with this propoſal, iſſued out a brief, enjoining Father Oviedo and the Jeſuits to leave Abyſſinia, and to repair to other places. The biſhop anſwered, that he was ready to obey; but that the Turks being now in poſſeſſion of the ports, he could not by any means tranſport himſelf to any other place, becauſe no veſſels now put in on that coaſt: adding, that it would be more proper to ſend them aſſiſtance than to recall them; and that if he could obtain only five hundred Portugueſe ſoldiers, he could not only bring back the Abyſſins into the pale of the church, but ſubdue many idolatrous nations; that there were on the coaſts of Mozambique and Sofala many Gentiles that only wanted to be inſtructed; that

a neighbouring prince, related to the king of Abyſſinia, had teſtified a great deſire of embracing Chriſtianity; that the Turks began to put the whole empire of Ethiopia in danger, who, if they ſhould get poſſeſſion of it, would give them great diſturbance in their Indian acquiſitions, which they would find great difficulty in maintaining; that all theſe dangers, greater than he was able to expreſs, would be obviated by ſending the troops, which he ſtill continued to requeſt and hope for; that Melac Segued, a prince without judgment or experience, had nothing but the name of emperor; that he was already embarraſſed with the old enemies of his father; that peace was the general wiſh of the people, who were perſuaded that they ſhould ſoon enjoy it if the church of Rome were once acknowledged; that though the greateſt part of the religious oppoſed them, yet all were not ſo ſtrongly prejudiced; and that many were hindered from declaring in their favour by the fear of loſing their preferments and employs, or of ſome ſeverer puniſhment; that nothing could be of greater advantage to the church, or contribute more to the ſecurity of the Portugueſe, than to make Abyſſinia a catholic kingdom; that, ſetting aſide ſo glorious a proſpect, he could but reflect that he was accountable for all the ſouls that ſhould periſh through his abandoning them; that he had collected two hundred and thirty Catholics, who would be driven to and fro deſtitute of all ſpiritual aſſiſtance, living then in huts which they had built, where they were inſtructed, and paſſed their lives in a frequent celebration of the ſacraments, and in other exemplary virtues; that this number increaſed every day by the arrival of others, who came from different places to be inſtructed and converted; that, to conclude, the converſion of the Abyſſins was

the great work to which he was called by God, and to which he was devoted and conſecrated. If, after what had been ſaid, his Holineſs ſhould determine him to any other place, he was ready with the humbleſt obedience to go to China, Japan, or the moſt barbarous nations, being prepared to reſign his life for the glory of God.

A greater warmth of zeal is hardly to be met with, which it is to be wiſhed had been more regulated by the precepts of the goſpel. The patriarch had deſerved greater encomiums had he always remembered that the holy apoſtles were ſent *as ſheep among wolves*, and that his miſſion was deſigned not for ſoldiers but preachers, whoſe only ſecurity was not reſiſtance but flight; that it is the virtue of a Chriſtian, and more particularly of a miſſionary, to bear perſecution patiently for the kingdom of God. But theſe are leſſons which the Portugueſe miſſionaries are not very well qualified to hear, and leſs to practiſe. The patriarch, prepoſſeſſed with an opinion that the Abyſſins would never ſubmit themſelves without compulſion to the church of Rome, made this loud demand for troops, which he continued to repeat till his death in 1577. Of the five Jeſuits that were with him, not one returned to the Indies. The laſt of them was Father Francis Lobo, who was alive in 1596.

Melac Segued died in 1596, leaving only a natural ſon very young, who was acknowledged as king by the grandees, that hoped to have the management of affairs during the minority; but when he came to take the government upon himſelf, they all revolted; and having dethroned and baniſhed him into the province of Narea, ſet the crown upon Zadenghel his couſin, grandſon of King David. Father Peter Pays, a Jeſuit, who

who without attempting any thing went into Ethiopia, was favourably received, conceived great hopes that the Catholic religion might be now ſucceſsfully propagated; but the time was yet to come in which the authority of St Peter's ſucceſſors ſhould again be acknowledged in Abyſſinia. The virtue of Zadenghel made him formidable to thoſe who had exalted him to the throne; and the diſſatisfaction ſtill increaſing, united his enemies in a conſpiracy, which grew to that height that he was ſurpriſed and killed. Jacob was then recalled; but was oppoſed by Socinios, grandſon of King Baſilides, and conſequently the next heir; who after a conteſt of three years with various fortune, gave Jacob at laſt a total defeat, and took poſſeſſion of the empire, calling himſelf *Sultan Segued*.

There never appeared a fairer proſpect of making Abyſſinia ſubject to the ſee of Rome. Four Jeſuits who had made their way into that empire, being but a day's journey from the place where the king won the victory which eſtabliſhed him on the throne, went to congratulate him. He received them with great benevolence, provided immediately for their ſubſiſtence, and furniſhed them with wine from his own table; then inquiring after Father Payz, he commanded them to ſend for him; and upon his arrival permitted him to dine in the royal tent, with only a curtain between them. Inſtances of ſo great an honour are very uncommon in Abyſſinia. After dinner they had a long conference, in which the new king informed Payz that he much deſired ſome Portugueſe forces; which the father told him might eaſily be obtained by renouncing the errors of the church of Alexandria, and embracing the religion of Rome. The condition was accepted by the emperor, and the Father wrote imme-

diately to the Pope, the king of Portugal, and the viceroy of the Indies; the three letters being ſigned by Sultan Segued, who ſix years afterwards wrote others with his own hand.

The new king had four brothers by the mother, but of different fathers, to whom he committed ſome of the moſt important truſts in his empire: and indeed he had need of ſome whoſe fidelity and diligence he might depend on; for in the two firſt years of his reign there was nothing but civil wars, factions, and revolts; the greateſt danger was threatened on the ſide of Bagameder, where one of his diſobedient ſubjects had called in the Galles to his aſſiſtance, and put himſelf at their head. Selo Chriſtos the governor of Bagameder was not without reaſon diſtruſtful of his troops, and was forced to have recourſe to a ſtratagem to make them march againſt that war-like people, who have almoſt always been the terror of the Abyſſins: at length falling unexpectedly upon his enemies, he made ſo great a ſlaughter, that thoſe who were left were glad to purchaſe their peace by bringing the head of the revolted chief.

The year following there was an inſurrection in the kingdom of Tigre, procured by one who pretended to be King Jacob, and to have eſcaped out of the battle in which he was believed to have periſhed. This man retreating to the mountains of Biſan between Debaroa and the Red-Sea, made a deſcent from thence into the level countries, deſtroying or carrying off all that was found in his way; ſo that commerce was interrupted, and the rebellious troops enriching themſelves with plunder, grew every day more formidable. At length Sela Chriſtos was ordered to march againſt them, Ala Chriſtos in the mean time having the charge of

of the province of Bagameder. But unhappily the remedy of one misfortune was the cauſe of another; for the Galles, who were reſtrained by the fear of Sela Chriſtos, ſeizing the opportunity of his abſence, broke into the province in ſo great numbers, that the king was obliged to march againſt them with the greateſt part of his forces, and was unhappily defeated in two battles. The report, which made his loſs greater than it really was, raiſed the hopes of his enemies, whom Sela Chriſtos was hardly in a condition to reſiſt. In this extremity he wrote to the king that he ſhould repair to Axuma; and being there ſolemnly crowned, aſſemble all the forces of his empire. The king had already revenged his former loſſes; having, when he received thoſe letters, gained a complete victory over the Galles; after which he led his army to Axuma, where he was conſecrated and crowned by Simeon the Abuna on the 24th of March in the year 1609. Then taking the road to Debaroa, he ſtruck ſuch a terror into his adverſaries, that their chief abandoning thoſe whom he had ſeduced by counterfeiting Jacob the late Emperor, retreated alone, and hid himſelf with ſuch caution that he could not be found while the Emperor continued in thoſe parts. But no ſooner was one ſedition ſuppreſſed than another was raiſed: Melchiſedec a ſlave of the late king Melac Segued, coming down from the mountains of Amhara, joined Arſon, who pretended to be the brother of Zadenghel; and entering the province of Dambea, was with his companion received and ſupported by the inhabitants. Emana Chriſtos the King's brother arrived ſoon enough to oppoſe them; and Melchiſedec thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to hazard a battle loſt his life. Arſon being taken priſoner was carried to the king, who commanded his head to be ſtruck off. Ras Sela Chriſtos followed the King;

and the government of Tigre was conferred upon Ampſala Chriſtos. The counterfeit Jacob imagining that he had now nothing to fear, the king being at a great diſtance, appeared again, having once more got ſome troops together. He was joined by two of the grandees, though they knew he impoſed upon his followers, and was encouraged by the viceroy's ſlackneſs to attack him. Ampſala Chriſtos was informed of their deſign, and determined to meet them with what forces he had; but was diſſuaded from it by a Portugueſe, who adviſed him to plant ſome muſketeers in ambuſh near the road, and to fall upon them when they were in a conſternation at the noiſe of the fire-arms. The ſtratagem was ſo ſucceſsful, that the two grandees were priſoners at the viceroy's mercy, who ſent father Payz to pray for them; the head of the counterfeit Jacob was cut off, and ſent to the viceroy.

In all theſe wars there was not any thing of religion made uſe of as a pretence. Although the Jeſuits had already advanced themſelves to great credit with Sultan Segued, it was ſome time before any more were ſent into Ethiopia, till in 1618, and the five following years, nine of the ſociety arrived in that empire; a ſuccour very neceſſary to repair the loſs which the miſſion of Abyſſinia had ſuffered by the death of Laurentio Romano, which was followed by that of Peter Payz, who had the pleaſure to receive Sultan Segued's renunciation, and adminiſter to him the ſacrament of penance; and when by that laſt action he had completed the duties of his miſſion, he rendered up his ſoul in May 1622.

The emperor publiſhed ſome time after a declaration, ſhowing the motives of his converſion; in which he animadverted

animadverted with great ſeverity on the ſcandalous conduct of the late Abunas, and ſet out their vices in very lively colours. The deſign of Sultan Segued in this declaration was to prepare the nation for a reception of the patriarch Alp. Mendez, that none might be ſurpriſed at the extraordinary honours which were intended him, and were afterwards paid him; a particular account of whoſe miſſion has already been given in the foregoing relation of father Jerome Lobo. It is to be wiſhed that the patriarch, a man without controverſy, poſſeſſed of many great and excellent endowments, had loaded himſelf with leſs buſineſs, and been more cautious in the exerciſe of his authority, which he carried to the ſame height in Abyſſinia as in a country ſubject to the inquiſition; turning, by theſe violent meaſures, the whole world againſt the miſſionaries, and raiſing ſuch a deteſtation of the Jeſuits, as continues in the country to this day.

DISSERTATION X.

ON THE

ERRORS OF THE ABYSSINS,

Relating to the INCARNATION.

THE greater number of thoſe who have written on the religion of the Abyſſins have fallen into one of theſe extremes; either they have affirmed that it is ſo corrupted with Jewiſh ſuperſtitions, that its profeſſors retain only the name of Chriſtians; or they have pretended that the primitive purity is only preſerved in Abyſſinia, and that no error or corruption can be charged upon them; that they have abandoned the Eutychian hereſy; that the ſchiſms ſuppoſed to be kept up in the eaſt, are only continued becauſe the different parties do not ſufficiently underſtand each other; and that the controverſies between them and the Catholic church are only diſputes about words.

Neither of theſe opinions is exactly agreeable to truth. It has appeared in the foregoing diſſertations by what far-fetched arguments the Ethiopians endeavour to defend themſelves againſt the charge of Judaiſm; and perhaps they might clear themſelves if a ſingle cuſtom only was inſiſted on: but whoever ſhall take into one view ſuch an aſſemblage of practices borrowed from the ancient law, as is found in their religion, will be

be eaſily convinced that the Jewiſh worſhip has much infected their Chriſtianity.

When we ſhall ſpeak of their errors in regard of the uſe of the ſacraments, we ſhall prove at the ſame time that they are not ſo numerous as thoſe generally imagine, who being unacquainted with the ſtate of the eaſtern church, condemn a little too inconſiderately every thing that is not agreeable to the cuſtoms of their own country. Men of this turn of mind have made it a crime in the Abyſſins to faſt on a Wedneſday rather than on Saturday; to confirm infants when they baptiſe them; and to admit them to the communion at the ſame time: Though theſe are ancient cuſtoms retained by the eaſtern church to this day. It is not over politic to talk in ſo high a ſtrain of the ſovereign pontiff's authority, to princes jealous of their power, and who are ready to ſuſpect that a lord is going to be ſet over them. David, king of Abyſſinia, weary with hearing of nothing but the Pope, could not forbear aſking Alvarez one queſtion, which threw him into ſuch a perplexity that he had nothing to ſay.

The Abyſſins pretend that they are not Eutychians; and indeed they confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt is truly God and man, and that the divine and the human nature were united without mixture or confuſion: They treat Eutyches as an heretic, and pronounce the anethema againſt him; but then they place Dioſcorus, that warm defender of the Eutychians, in the number of their ſaints, and reject the letter of Leo to Flavian, eſteeming it unclean, and terming the council of Chalcedon an aſſembly of fooliſh and factious men, who in compliance with the Emperor Marcian betrayed the truth. They give thoſe who receive that council the name of *Imperialiſts*, or *Melchites*, and confound them with

with the Neſtorians. They avoid making uſe of the word *nature;* and when they do admit it, they ſay Jeſus Chriſt was compoſed of two natures, but had not two natures. "Ex duabus, ſed non in duabus na-" turis."

Sanutius, the 55th Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, has explained himſelf thus in a letter which he wrote the ſecond year after his election.

"Credimus etiam quod in fine temporis, Deus cum dignatus eſt ſalvare genus noſtrum a ſervitute, miſit Filium ſuum unigenitum in mundum, qui incarnatus eſt, ſimilis nobis in omnibus factus, ex Spiritu ſancto et ex Maria Virgine, aſſumpto corpore perfecto abſque peccato: corpore, inquam, anima prædito modo incomprehenſibili, fecitque corpus illud unum ſuum, ſeu univit illud ſibi, abſque alteratione, commixtione aut diviſione; ita tamen ut una natura fuerit, ſuppoſitum unum, perſona una: paſſus eſt in corpore propter nos, mortuus eſt et ſurrexit a mortuis ſecundum ſcripturas, et aſcendit in cœlum, ſedetque ad dexteram Patris. Cum vero dicimus Deum paſſum eſſe pro nobis et mortuum, ſecundum fidem intelligimus eum pro nobis paſſum eſſe in corpore, cum ipſe ſit impaſſibilis, Deuſque ille unus, quemadmodum docuerunt nos patres eccleſiæ ſanctæ. Quicumque vero per blaſphemiam eum dividens, aſſeruerit Deum verbum neque paſſioni neque morti eſſe obnoxium, ſed hominem ipſum eſſe qui paſſus et mortuus fuerit, atque ita diviſerit illum in duo, Deum verbum ex una parte, et hominem ex altera; ita ut in duabus naturis, aut duabus perſonis conſtare eum exiſtimet, quarum utraque operetur, quæ naturæ ſuæ conſentanea ſunt, ejuſmodi homines ita introducere moliuntur fidem impuram Neſtorii: Conci-

liique

liique profani et obſcœni Chalcedonenſis, contra fidem orthodoxam. Illos anathematiſat eccleſia univerſalis apoſtolica; illos fugimus et execramur; anathematiſamuſque eos qui confitentur quod Deus verbum poſt unionem incomprehenſibilem duas naturas habeat. Nos vero recte confitemur quod Deus verbum ſuſcepit in ſe voluntarie paſſiones in corpore: neque enim dubium eſt, unionem omnino et in omnibus unam eſſe. Quippe naturæ quæ primum unita ſunt, nulla omnino ratione ſeparantur, verbo ita diſpenſante, cum ſint inſeparabiles, etiam in ipſo paſſionis tempore, quam in corpore ſuo ſuſcepit. Alioquin incideremus in errorem ſimilem Photini et Sabellii, qui impie aſſeruerunt divinitatem receſſiſſe, humanitatem vero cruci affixam fuiſſe: quos, et ſententias eorum impias, anathematiſamus, eorum anthropolatreien fugientes."

The confeſſion of faith by Mina or Mennaſti, patriarch of Alexandria, is conformable to the letter.

"CONFITEMUR naturam unam et perſonam unam perfectam, ex duabus per unionem, abſque alterutrius deſtructione, commixtione et corruptione unius verbi incarnatam. Teſtatur etiam Cyrillus in eadem ſententia fuiſſe Patres antiquos, et recentiores eadem comparatione uti ſolitos, animæ ſcilicet et corporis. Credimus igitur et affirmamus quod unus eſt Chriſtus Filius Dei ex duabus naturis et perſonis divinitatis et humanitatis perfectis; quodque factus eſt natura una, perſona una verbi incarnati et inhumanati: Neque omnino dicimus poſt unionem naturas duas, perſonas duas, voluntates duas, et operationes diverſas; qui enim eam ſententiam tenet excommunicatus eſt et damnatus a ſanctis Patribus, præclariſque eccleſiæ doctoribus, ut

ſuperius

ſuperius oſtendibus; atque hæc eſt Neſtorii ſectatorumque ejus ſententia."

Every man who has the leaſt ſenſe of humanity, muſt lament the miſeries which are the conſtant attendants on hereſy and ſchiſm; but no man that makes profeſſion of a religion, can cenſure a council the decrees of which his church received, or not condemn thoſe errors which that aſſembly hath condemned: Yet this is what Mr Ludolf has made no ſcruple of doing. He aſcribes the loſs of Egypt to the irreconcileable hatred ſubſiſting between the Melchites and the Jacobites, to the ſeverities of the governors, and to the violences uſed to the Jacobites by the Greek Emperors; and relates on this occaſion a fact which ought not to be forgotten, from an Abyſſin manuſcript of the Abbe Samuel.

The Emperor (apparently Heraclius) ſent 200 ſoldiers to ſeize all the biſhops. The Abbe Paul who had fled into the deſart was arreſted by the peaſants and brought home. Maxirien, who was entruſted with the execution of the Emperor's orders, having aſſembled the monks, preſented to them a confeſſion of faith drawn up, with theſe words, *Credite in id quod ſcriptum eſt in hoc codice.* This form was full of blaſphemies. They all ſtood ſilent, but plainly ſhowed by the dejection of their looks that they did not receive it; upon which the officer, enraged, ordered them to be ſcourged in a cruel manner; and continued to threaten them with greater ſeverities, till Abbe Samuel roſe up, and being ready to die for the ſake of truth, told him that they neither admitted that corrupt confeſſion, nor the council of Chalcedon, nor owned any other patriarch than the Abba Benjamin their maſter and paſtor;

ſtor; adding, I affirm that the Roman Emperor is heretical: I here pronounce an anathema againſt the book which you preſent me, and againſt the council of Chalcedon, and thoſe that receive it. Then tearing the book, he threw it before the door of the church.

The council of Chalcedon is acknowledged orthodox by the Lutherans and Calviniſts as well as by the Catholics; yet Mr Ludolf not only excuſes inſtead of cenſuring the Abyſſins, but likewiſe all the Jacobites; he attacks the council itſelf, and gives his opinion, that in treating with the Abyſſins on religious ſubjects, it would be proper not to mention it; but, omitting the words *nature* and *perſon*, to compriſe the doctrine in other terms; to which, ſays he, I am perſuaded the Abyſſins would readily ſubſcribe. An admirable expedient, and truly worthy of its author! Thus were we to reconcile an Arian, no mention is to be made of conſubſtantiality or the council of Nice, or of the Virgin Mother of God in the converſion of a Neſtorian; as in diſcourſing with the Abyſſins, no notice is to be taken that in other terms we teach the ſame doctrine with the council of Chalcedon.

It is yet more neceſſary for the Abyſſins to acknowledge the council of Chalcedon, and the letter of St Leo to Flavian; becauſe, as we are told by Mr Ludolf, the words by which *ſubſtance*, *perſon*, and *nature* are expreſſed in their language are very equivocal, and capable of acceptations, which may eaſily be confounded; ſo that to clear their belief of all ambiguities which might for ever give occaſion to diſputes among them, they can propoſe no other expedient than to ſpeak as the church ſpeaks in the council of Chalcedon. But this they are ſo far from approving, that to confirm

confirm themſelves in their errors they have recourſe to forged miracles; and contrive to utter voices from tombs, which pronounce Leo a wicked deſtroyer of ſouls, and his book polluted and impure, and declare the Emperor Marcian and Pulcheria accurſed, together with the council of Chalcedon, the biſhops who were aſſembled at it, and all who believe that ſince the incarnation two natures ſubſiſt in our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

After ſuch anathemas as theſe, pronounced in this manner, and authoriſed by pretended miracles, we ought, if we follow Mr Ludolf's advice, to diſguiſe and diſſemble our opinion, to avoid the mention either of two natures or of the council of Chalcedon. One would imagine it ſcarce poſſible that he ſhould carry his indifference with regard to ſo important a point of religion ſo far, unleſs he were ſome latitudinarian, or patron of toleration.

The patriarch Alphonſo Mendez, whoſe knowledge was equal to Mr Ludolf's ignorance of divinity, though our author would doubtleſs have favoured him with the ſame excellent advice, ſeems by no means inclined to have followed it. That prelate, who had ſpent ten years in endeavouring the converſion of the Abyſſins, ſpeaks of their notions concerning the incarnation of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, in theſe words.

" Sed plures et obſtinatiores illorum ſunt in dominicam incarnationem poſitiones. In primis enim duplicem Chriſti naturam cum Eutychete diffitentur: unam vero, eamque ſolam divinam ex duabus factam, ut in hominibus fit ex corpore et anima, cum Monophyſitis, et unam voluntatem, et naturalem operationem, cum Monothelitis, tuentur: Et eodem modo cum Neſtorianis unam perſonam ex duabus conglobatam, inter

naturam et perſonam nihil diſcriminis agnoſcentes; perſonam vero rentur ipſam eſſe corporaturam, nec illam ſolis ſubſtantiis rationalibus, ſed etiam inanimis, ut navibus, arboribus, et montibus aſſignant. Divinitatem et humanitatem ex æquo componunt, illam natam, vinctam, et mortuam; iſtam omnipotentem et omnia loca pervadentem, ſtulte buccinantes; Eutychitem ob leviuſcula ſenſa hæreticis, Dioſcorum ipſius in omnibus patronum doctoribus et martyribus apponunt; divum Leonem et concilium Chalcedonenſe paribus probris et diris inſectantur, et impuris cantionibus proſcindunt."

Eutyches was accuſed of having embraced the hereſy of the Apollinarians, and was in that point abandoned by Dioſcorus, and the Abyſſins after his example pronounce him accurſed: but as they follow him in the reſt of his errors, rejecting the Pope's letter and the council of Chalcedon, they are no leſs chargeable with hereſy and ſchiſm. The Eutychians have met the ſame fate with the reſt who have ſeparated from the church, being divided, as they are not reſtrained by any authority, in different ſects. Timotheus a prieſt of Conſtantinople has enumerated the various parties of Eutychians, and given us the characteriſtic by which each is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt; and having compared the efforts of the Eutychians againſt the council of Chalcedon with thoſe of the Arians againſt the council of Nice, he concludes with a triumphant exclamation.

DIS-

DISSERTATION XI.

CONCERNING THE

SACRAMENTS;

Particularly thoſe of BAPTISM and CONFIRMATION.

WE have ſhown in the Ninth Diſſertation that the Abyſſins have admitted many Jewiſh ceremonies into their religion; and in the Tenth, that they are Jacobites, and that Mr Ludolf's defence of their errors is inſufficient. It is now our intention to give an account of their belief concerning the ſacraments.

The Catholic friends of Mr Ludolf made complaints of the captious queſtions put by him to Gregory the Abyſſin, which we ſhall not repeat, contenting ourſelves with proving that the Abyſſins like us believe ſeven ſacraments, though they differ from us in the manner of adminiſtration. Their definition of a ſacrament is ſufficiently conformable to ours. We hold that a ſacrament is an outward viſible ſign of an inviſible grace, which God implants in our minds at the time when the ſacrament is conferred; and indeed all the eaſtern Chriſtians, of what church ſoever, holds a ſacrament to be

be a divine and holy inſtitution, performed by the miniſtry of a prieſt; and which by things material, corporeal, and ſenſible, manifeſts and ſets forth the ſpiritual grace which God communicates by means of that ſacrament to thoſe who worthily receive it. They except baptiſm, becauſe in caſe of neceſſity that may be adminiſtered by a layman, or even by a nurſe. Joſeph Abudacni, in his hiſtory of the Jacobites, printed at Oxford in 1675, ſays expreſsly, that they have ſeven ſacraments like the Papiſts, Greeks, and Armenians. Mr Ludolf did not think it convenient to confine himſelf to printed books, or to conſult the liturgies that lay by him; but introducing this Abyſſin upon the ſtage, by his manner of aſking queſtions makes him ſay what he aſſures us he did, and what is entirely contrary to the truth.

It cannot, however, be denied, that in ſome inſtances, the accounts given by the Jeſuits are not to be depended on; for either through ignorance, or to make their miſſion ſeem of more importance, they have accuſed the Abyſſins of errors which are not to be found among them.

Father Nicholas Godigno, ſpeaking of the dominican of Valencia, who has made himſelf famous for the lies and impertinences which he publiſhed about the kingdom of Preſter-John; together with father Balthaſar Tellez and Mr Ludolf, affirm, that confirmation and extreme unction are not in uſe among the Abyſſins.

We will ſet againſt the teſtimony of one miſſionary and Jeſuit the teſtimony of another, and oppoſe theſe Portugueſe Jeſuits; men zealous indeed, but too much prejudiced, and who had little other knowledge than the learning of their ſchools, with a French Jeſuit,

grown old in the miſſions of Egypt, and that wanted neither time nor opportunity to make himſelf fully acquainted with the religion of the Cophtes or Jacobites profeſſed by the Abyſſins. This Jeſuit is father de Bernat, who, in his letter to father Fleurian ſuperintendant of thoſe miſſions, gives an account of the care he has taken to underſtand the opinions of thoſe people. The letter is dated at Cairo the 26th of July 1711; from which we ſhall extract the moſt important paſſages.

"I HAVE (ſays he) applied myſelf with all poſſible diligence to the conſideration of the ſacraments as adminiſtered by the Cophtes, not only having laid hold on every occaſion of ſeeing them celebrated, but conſulted likewiſe the moſt learned among them, and read their rituals and other eccleſiaſtical books.

"It is not to be expected from the Cophtes, that when they are aſked the number of the ſacraments, they ſhould immediately anſwer like the children among us, that they are ſeven; I have obſerved already that they want catechiſms among them. Whoever deſires to know their ſentiments on this point, muſt go through all the ſacraments, aſking them concerning each, whether it be a viſible ſign of an inviſible grace, and whether it be a ſacrament; they will immediately anſwer that they believe it to be a ſacrament; nor do they make the leaſt heſitation about any one of them. If you proceed to aſk them, whether all the ſacraments are of divine inſtitution, they do not underſtand the queſtion; but if you explain it upon each ſacrament ſingly, they agree with you in confeſſing that Jeſus Chriſt has inſtituted them, and commanded them all to be uſed in his church. Such confeſſions as theſe

are

are what every one ought to be ſatisfied with from a people that have no ſchools of divinity among them, who are perplexed at firſt about the meaning of a queſtion, and cannot expreſs themſelves clearly concerning it. I could wiſh that your doctors who determine ſo poſitively upon the belief of the Cophtes, had more regard to what I have mentioned, or were upon the ſpot to converſe with them.

" I am afraid you will not be able to underſtand what I have to ſay, unleſs I firſt explain to you the meaning of the words *meiron* and *galilæum*. The firſt is the holy *chriſm*, ſo named from the Greek *myron*; the other is the conſecrated oil. The conſecration of the meiron is performed with great expence and many ceremonies by the patriarch himſelf, aſſiſted by the biſhop; ſo that it had not been renewed in 24 years, when in the year 1703, before Eaſter, many biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, aſſembled themſelves here in order to the conſecration of the meiron; which is compoſed not only of oil of olives and balm, but of many other precious and odoriferous drugs, which it is the buſineſs of the patriarch together with the biſhop to mix and prepare. This ceremony muſt be performed in the church with ſinging of pſalms, and continues almoſt all the day. I was informed, that beſides the prayers proper on this occaſion, they repeat or ſing over all the books of the Old and New Teſtament; which I cannot comprehend, unleſs it be underſtood of particular parts of each book, or the prieſts divided into different choirs take different books; but this I paſs over as of no great conſequence. The patriarch on Holy Tueſday conſecrates the meiron; on Eaſter Sunday and the two following days he throws what remained of the old into the veſſels of the new, and di-

ſtributes to each biſhop the quantity which he has occaſion for in his dioceſe. When he conſecrates an archbiſhop of Ethiopia, he gives him ſome of this meiron, which is not ſent into that country on any other occaſion; ſo that it was eſteemed a ſignal mark of favour when I was intruſted with a bottle to carry to the archbiſhop. I was, for my ſins, hindered from executing this honourable commiſſion, being, when I came to the frontiers of Ethiopia, forbidden to enter that kingdom. I ſhall add to this account, that the Emperor of Ethiopia is anointed at his coronation with this meiron, and that the expences of the laſt conſecration amounted to 1000 crowns.

"The galilæum is not ſo coſtly, being nothing more than the oil; which having been uſed in waſhing the veſſels that held the meiron, is made holy by the drops of that liquor which are mingled with it. Of this kind of oil, if there be not a ſufficient quantity, the prieſt conſecrates more.

"I come now to the adminiſtration of the ſacrament of baptiſm. The mother, dreſſed in the neateſt manner poſſible, preſents herſelf at the gate of the church with the infant, which is likewiſe dreſſed with equal care. There the biſhop or the prieſt, whoſe office it is, repeats ſome long prayers over them, firſt beginning with the mother; then taking them into the church, he anoints the infant ſix times with a holy oil by way of exorciſm; and afterwards thirty-ſix times with the galilæum, upon ſo many parts of his body; then he bleſſes the font, throwing twice into it the holy oil, and making each time three ſigns of the croſs with the meiron; all which is accompanied with long prayers. Having thus ended the benediction of the font, he dips the infant three times: at the firſt, as far as the third

third part of his body, with theſe words, *I baptiſe thee in the name of the Father;* at the ſecond, two thirds of his body, ſaying, *I baptiſe thee in the name of the Son;* at the third time he puts in his whole body, repeating, *I baptiſe thee in the name of the Holy Ghoſt.* He then adminiſters the euchariſt to the newly baptiſed infant with only the element of wine, having firſt conferred confirmation upon him. He dips his finger in the chalice, and ſo touches the child's mouth. It is to be obſerved, that the mother doth not appear out of her own houſe for forty days after having brought a ſon, and twenty-four after a daughter; ſo that baptiſm is deferred for that ſpace. There is likewiſe another reaſon for delaying it, that the mother may have time to procure proper dreſſes; ſo that, on ſome of theſe accounts, they often ſpend ſix or ſeven months before the child is brought to baptiſm: and if during that interval any diſtemper attacks the child ſo as to threaten its life, it is carried to the church, and laid on a carpet near the font, in which the prieſt dips his hands, and rubbing the body over at three times, repeats the form of baptiſm already recited. If this baptiſm be performed in the evening, or at any hour in which maſs is not allowed to be ſaid, the prieſt muſt ſtay with the mother and the child in the church till the morrow, that the child may be admitted to the communion. The foundation of this cuſtom is, that among the Cophtes baptiſm can only be performed in a church, and by the hands of the biſhop or prieſt. This abuſe is attended with this deplorable conſequence, that if the infant be not in a condition to be carried to church, the prieſt comes to the houſe, and having repeated the prayers for the mother, and performed the ſix unctions on the child, he aſks thrice, Whether the child

believes in three perſons? and being anſwered, Yes, by the godfather and godmother, he goes on with other prayers, pronounces the benediction, and goes away. If they are reproached with ſuffering a ſoul to periſh, they produce this canon in their defence: *If any infant after the laſt unction, or even after the firſt, dies, be not afflicted; but be aſſured that the unction is to him inſtead of baptiſm, and that he ſhall be ſaved by that baptiſm.*"

Thus far Father Bernat. As to the objections which may be drawn from this canon againſt the neceſſity of baptiſm, the reader may find them obviated in the 5th volume of the *Abbe Renaudot's Perpetuity of the Faith;* who cites other canons, plainly proving that the neceſſity of that ſacrament is maintained by the eaſtern churches.

Alvarez has, in my opinion, committed many miſtakes in his account of the Abyſſinian manner of baptiſing; for he affirms that they have no fonts, and that the prieſt pours water on the infant as it is held in the godfather's arms, pronouncing at the ſame time theſe words, *I baptiſe thee,* &c. The ceremony is performed in a manner entirely different. The font is filled with water, which the prieſt bleſſes, throwing into it ſalt and oil, having firſt ſung with the other clergy ſome hymns, and repeated ſeveral prayers, and read the epiſtle and goſpel. Then the godfather, leaving the women at the gate, carries in the child; which, after the lamps are lighted, is, upon the godfather's declaring his deſire to have him baptiſed, received by the prieſt, and immerſed in the water three times, with the form of baptiſm. The prieſt then, having dried his body with a linen cloth, confirms him, and anoints all his joints with oil; then proceeding to ſay maſs, admits

admits him to the communion. It is pretended by Father du Bernat, that the prieſt only touches his mouth with his finger dipped in the chalice; but others affirm that he gives him part of the hoſt. Notwithſtanding all theſe ceremonies, the Jeſuits pretended that the prieſts erred in the form of baptiſm, ſaying, inſtead of *I baptiſe thee in the name*, &c. *I baptiſe thee in the waters of Jordan;* and that others made uſe of forms different from that commanded by Jeſus Chriſt. Upon this ſuppoſition, whether true or falſe, they rebaptiſed great numbers of Abyſſins; which, though done with the proviſo, if they were not lawfully baptiſed before, highly offended the whole nation, and was one of the injuries which king Baſilides complained of to the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez, when he drove the Jeſuits out of his dominions.

Of the repetition of baptiſm practiſed by the Abyſſins, though Mr Ludolf denies it, we have unanſwerable proofs; and the ceremony is deſcribed by Alvarez in a manner ſo plain and ſimple, that I believe the reader will not be diſpleaſed with an account extracted from him.

On the 4th of January 1521. The Portugueſe were commanded to carry their tents to the place at which Preſter-John was to be baptiſed according to their cuſtom, on the feaſt of Epiphany; where being aſked, if they would be baptiſed, they anſwered by Alvarez, that they had received baptiſm already, and could not repeat it. There was a pit dug for this purpoſe, into which they deſcended by ſix ſteps; where an old man, who had been preceptor to Preſter-John, ſtanding up to the ſhoulders in the water, immerſed the heads of thoſe who preſented themſelves, repeating at the ſame time, *I baptiſe thee in the name of the Father, of the*

Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. The king, ordering the Portugueſe to be called, deſired Alvarez to give his opinion of that ceremony; whoſe anſwer was, that nothing could make it innocent or excuſable except the good intention; that we are taught by the council of Nice *to acknowledge one baptiſm for the remiſſion of ſins;* and that the council of Nice was acknowledged as well by the Abyſſins as by the Romans. But, anſwered the king, you ought to propoſe ſome means by which thoſe who, having apoſtatiſed, are again returned to the church, may be reconciled. As for apoſtates, returned the Portugueſe, we ought to inſtruct them, and to pray for them, and if they continue obſtinate, to burn them; but if they, with humble contrition and ſorrow, beg for pardon and pity, the Abuna ought to abſolve them, impoſing upon them ſuch penance as he ſhall judge convenient; unleſs he ſhall chooſe rather to refer them to the Pope, in whom the whole power of the church reſides. Alvarez repeated a ſecond time, that if apoſtates would not be converted they ought to be burnt, as the cuſtom is in the Roman church.

This diſcourſe was approved by the king; who informed him that his grandfather had, by the advice of many learned and able men, directed this baptiſm, leſt thoſe great numbers that had fallen off from the church ſhould periſh for want of means of recovery.

This repetition of baptiſm is then an error introduced about ſixty years before the arrival of the Portugueſe. It is ſomething more than a mere ceremony in commemoration of the baptiſm of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: for they have entertained ſo firm a perſuaſion, that by being baptiſed again only their ſins are forgi-

ven

ven them, that, when they had aboliſhed the Roman religion, and driven the Jeſuits out of their empire, a general rebaptization was commanded, "in order," ſays the patriarch, "to waſh away the filth which they imagined they had contracted by receiving the orthodox faith."

It is hard to comprehend how Mr Ludolf, after teſtimonies ſo authentic, ſhould dare to produce the accounts of Gregory, *l.* iii. *c.* 6. "Relata a Gregorio refero, Alvarez aliter, et tanquam verum baptiſmum, viroſque cum fæminis promiſcue rebaptiſatos narrat. An tum temporis ita fecerint, et an Alvarezius verba baptiſantis recte intellexerit, equidem dubito."

Did Alvarez only tell what he had ſeen, had not he had a conference with the king on that ſubject; in ſhort, had the whole affair depended on his ſingle teſtimony, others might here have ſuſpended their opinion no leſs than Mr Ludolf: but his narration is confirmed by all the Jeſuits who have been ſince his time in Abyſſinia. Father Nicholas Godigno, whoſe hiſtory of Abyſſinia is collected from the letters of Gonſalvo Rodriguez and Antonio Fernandes, upon this very article contradicts Urreta, that Dominican who has made himſelf ſo much talked of by the impoſtures he has been the author of about Abyſſinia; who, though cenſured no leſs by Mr Ludolf than by other learned men, had affirmed before him, that this celebration of baptiſm was only a ceremony inſtituted in commemoration of the baptiſm of Jeſus.

"Quotannis ipſo ſancto Epiphaniæ die, in memoriam ac reverentiam baptiſati Chriſti, corpora in Lacubus aut fluminibus ſole re abluere, myſtis præſentibus, et preces quaſdam recitantibus. Inde ait occaſionem aliquos accepiſſe falſo exiſtimandi, ſolere Abaſſinos baptiſma

baptiſma iterare. Hæc ille, ſed jam ſupra oſtenſum eſt Abaſſinos baptiſmum modis pluribus repetere, et hunc cum aliis tenere errorem." The ſame author afterwards writes thus: "Apud antiquiores hiſtoricos reperio, ex veterum imperatorem inſtituto, eſſe apud hanc gentem poſitum in more, baptiſati pueruli in fronte quædam inurere ſtigmata."

Alvarez ſpeaks of theſe *ſtigmata* or marks in theſe terms: "As to the marks which appear on the face above the noſe, or on the eye-brows of black ſlaves, they are not made with fire, nor on any account relating to religion, as it has been falſely preſumed."

Some ancient authors have written, it is true, that the Nubians baptiſed by fire: but they were ill informed of that country, and of the religion which then prevailed and ſtill prevails there; which we ſhould even at this time be very ignorant of but for the Portugueſe Jeſuits. Neither the knowledge nor the veracity of the Abyſſins is to be depended on; thoſe who have been in Europe having given ſuch various accounts of their religion, that it is impoſſible to know which deſerves the moſt credit.

"Scio" ſays Father Godigno "Teclam Mariam Abaſſinum monachum, de quo dicam infra, in recenſendis ſuorum erroribus ſic a Zagazabo diſcrepaſſe, adeoque in hac re male inter ſe convenire Abaſſinoſqui apud nos ſunt, ut Thomas a Jeſu in Theſauro ſuo de Abaſſinis agens, eorumque ex variis autoribus ritus referens, merito dicat difficile eſſe hiſce de rebus certum aliquid definire; idem ego jure poſſem dicere, niſi quæ hic propono ex ipſis Patrum Noſtrorum, qui in Abaſſia degunt, omniaque perſpecta habent, Cognoviſſem Litteris."

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The world has been more acquainted with Abyſſinia ſince the Father Balthaſar Tellez has written the hiſtory of it. Had that Father, or thoſe who furniſhed him with his memoirs, been more acquainted with the eaſtern church, they had not by their miſtakes accuſed the Abyſſins of errors which they are free from, or furniſhed the enemies of the Roman church with arms againſt it.

Mr Ludolf affirms from the teſtimony of Father Tellez, to which he might have added thoſe of all the Portugueſe Jeſuits, that confirmation is not known to the Abyſſins, to whom I ſhall not ſcruple to oppoſe the ſingle relation of the ſame Father Bernat.

Baptiſm, ſays he, writing to Father Fleurian, is immediately followed by confirmation, which is adminiſtered by the ſame prieſt in this manner: After long prayers he repeats thirty-ſix unctions on the body of the infant, which are performed with the meiron, ſaying at the anointing of the forehead and eyes, *The ointment of grace and of the Holy Spirit;* of the noſe and mouth, *the ointment, the pledge of the kingdom of heaven;* of the ears, *the ointment of communion of everlaſting life;* of the hands within and without, *the holy unction to Chriſt our Lord, and the indelible character;* upon the heart, *the perfection of grace and of the Holy Spirit;* at the knees and hands, *I have anointed you with the holy ointment, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.*

The Abbe Renaudot had long ſince written the ſame thing in his memoirs of the church of Abyſſinia, which he has been pleaſed to communicate to us, which may be farther illuſtrated by what he ſays in his fifth volume of the *Perpetuity of the Faith*, concerning the baptiſm of the Ethiopians. This learned Abbe tells us

us in the ſame work, that confirmation is called *meiron* or the *holy ointment*, from the ointment uſed in the adminiſtration of this ſacrament, by the Greeks, Syrians, Cophtes, and Ethiopians. Theſe proofs are, in my opinion, ſufficient to make it clear that the Abyſſins receive confirmation as a ſacrament: of which whoever deſires a more perfect knowledge, may conſult the authors already cited.

DIS-

DISSERTATION XII.

ON THE

EUCHARIST AND PENANCE.

THE Abbe Renaudot has ſo well explained the belief of the Abyſſins concerning the myſtery of the euchariſt in the fourth and fifth tome of the *Perpetuity of the Faith*, that we cannot do better than refer the reader thither, where he will obſerve the irreſiſtable force with which he oppoſes and confutes the errors of Mr Ludolf, and confirms the truth of that adorable myſtery. Wanſleb had before treated on the ſame ſubject, though with leſs learning, yet in ſuch a manner as obliged Mr Ludolf either to examine it more nicely, or explain himſelf with more circumſpection. All the learned were ſcandalized at his affectation of expreſſing the ſacrament celebrated on our altars by the term *ſacra cæna*, the holy ſupper, and his declining the uſe of any other. The Abbe Renaudot, after having refuted him in his *Perpetuity of the Faith*, was obliged to engage him again in his defence of the hiſtory of the patriarchs of Alexandria, in which he writes thus:

Mr

Mr Ludolf, who wrote for all the world, and not for the Proteſtants alone, ought to make uſe of ſuch expreſſions as are known to the churches of which he ſpeaks. Thoſe which he tranſlates by *ſacra cæna*, are rendered in the dictionaries of Proteſtants themſelves by the words *euchariſt* and *liturgy;* and although Caſtellus copied Mr Ludolf's dictionary, he hath yet explained the word *korban* by Euchariſt, which Mr Ludolf had not done, having rendered it *panem et vinum benedictum in ſancta cæna.* It is ſo called by the Ethiopian and Arabic Chriſtians before the conſecration, but after it, it is termed *the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt.* The verb from which that noun is derived, he renders *ſacramcænam diſtribuit miniſter;* uſing a barbarous expreſſion unknown equally to profane and eccleſiaſtical Latin writers, for the ſake of giving a falſe and equivocal interpretation. It is falſe, becauſe he reſtrains the word which ſignifies the whole action or ceremony of adminiſtering the ſacrament, which the Orientals call the myſtical oblation, *anaphora*, *kadas*, and *the ſacrifice*, to the ſingle act of diſtribution. He has left his readers to gueſs whom he means by *miniſter*, whether he be ſuch a perſon as the greateſt part of Proteſtants mean by miniſters, or whether he be a deacon, ſubdeacon, or one of an inferior order. He likewiſe in his tranſlation of *korban*, confounds the oblation that is firſt bleſſed by the prayers, with that which is made after the conſecration. If in the hiſtory of Alexandria, I had tranſlated thoſe words, which are as much Arabic as Ethiopian, after the dictionary of Mr Ludolf, and ſpeaking of a ſolemn office, had ſaid that the patriarch celebrated the ſupper in ſuch a church, or that the miniſter *at the ſupper* diſtributed the bleſſed bread and wine to the people, the tranſlation would be no leſs ridi-

ridiculous, than, if ſpeaking of what paſſed in a Calviniſt church, I ſhould ſay, *the prieſt ſaid maſs*. Grotius, with reaſon, ridiculed the editors of the memoirs of Philip de Comines at Geneva, who inſerted the word *ſupper* inſtead of *maſs;* and it is no leſs improper for Mr Ludolf to introduce into his account of the ceremonies of religion forms of ſpeech never known before.

Mr Ludolf, after having given us theſe prayers, *Convert this bread that it may become thy pure body, which is joined with this cup of thy precious blood.——Let the Holy Spirit deſcend, and come and ſhine upon this bread, that it may be made the body of Chriſt our God; and let the taſte of this cup be changed, that it may become the blood of Chriſt our God;* after having related theſe prayers with ſome others, he aſks Gregory the meaning of the words *convert* and *change*, and whether the Abyſſins believe *tranſubſtantiation*, a word certainly much leſs intelligible to the Abyſſinian than the others, which are ſufficiently plain and determinate. Gregory, who certainly did not underſtand him, anſwers, that the Abyſſins know nothing of tranſubſtantiation, and do not trouble themſelves with ſcruples about ſuch difficult queſtions; that the bread and wine were in his opinion converted from common food into the holy and myſterious repreſentative of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt; and that from profane it becomes ſacred, ſo as to repreſent to the communicants the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

It would not be improper to demand of Mr Ludolf his reaſon for aſking Gregory, on account of the words *change* and *convert*, if he did not believe that the bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt. The anſwer of Gregory, *ſibi videri*, that it

is his opinion, is not the anſwer of a man thoroughly inſtructed in his religion; and the *myſterioſum* and *repreſentativum* ſeem rather the expreſſions of ſome Zuinglion than of that Abyſſin.

As for the teſtimony of father Balthaſar Tellez he ſhall make all the uſe of it he can. It is agreed that that father doubts of the validity of their conſecration, becauſe of ſome defect in the form; but our diſpute is not about the validity of their conſecration, but about their belief; and it appears from the Ethiopian liturgies which have been tranſmitted hither, that they are fully perſuaded of the real preſence.

Let any man read the hiſtory of the church of Alexandria, and conſider the purity required of the prieſt when he ſays maſs, and of the laity when they communicate; and conſider whether all this is required only for a ſymbol which has nothing in it of reality. But if even that ſhould be affirmed, let him conſider what can be objected to the acclamation and profeſſion of faith made by the people, when the officiating prieſt pronounces theſe words, *This is my body which is broken for you for the remiſſion of ſins;* at which all cry out, *Amen, Amen, Amen. We praiſe thee, Lord God, this is truly thy body, and ſo we believe.*

The prieſt having likewiſe ſaid over the cup, *This is the cup of my blood which ſhall be ſhed for you for remiſſion, and for the redemption of many;* the people anſwer, *Amen, this is truly thy blood; we believe.* The prieſt continues, *you ſhall do this, you ſhall do this in remembrance of me;* the people anſwer, *We declare thy death, O Lord, and believe thy holy reſurrection, aſcenſion, and thy ſecond coming. We call upon thee, O Lord our God; we believe that it is truly ſo.* After the prieſt has ſaid the prayer at the breaking of the bread, the

people reply, *The armies of the angels of the Saviour of the world ſtand before him, and ſurround the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; let us come before his face, and with faith worſhip Jeſus Chriſt.* After the prayer of repentance or abſolution, when the prieſt has communicated, he gives the communion to the people with theſe words, *This is the bread of life, deſcended from heaven, verily the precious body of Emanuel, our God. Amen.* The communicant then anſwers, *Amen.* The deacon who preſents the cup, ſays, *This is the cup of life deſcended from heaven, which is the precious blood of Jeſus Chriſt.* He who receives it, ſays, *Amen, Amen.* At the giving thanks, the prieſt ſays, *My King, and my God, I will ſing thy praiſes, and will bleſs thy name for ever and ever. Our Father which art in heaven, lead us not into temptation, ſince we have been made partakers of thy holy body, and precious blood; and we give thee thanks that we have been thought worthy to communicate in the myſtery of glory and holineſs, which ſurpaſſes all underſtanding. I will bleſs thee, and praiſe thy name for ever and ever.*

It is not eaſily to be believed by one who reads theſe prayers taken out of the common Ethiopian liturgy, that theſe people do not believe the real preſence. Nor is it unjuſtly obſerved by the learned Abbe who has publiſhed thoſe liturgies, that Mr Ludolf's writings, either from his prejudices in favour of his own religion, or from his ignorance of the Alexandrian church, only ſerve to confound and obſcure the little knowledge we might have of the Abyſſinian religion. The patriarch Alphonſo Mendez pretends to doubt, whether the prieſts do really conſecrate the elements, becauſe the material part is defective; and he imagines the prieſts not right-

ly ordained. As to the matter, he remarks, that they make uſe of leavened bread, and that it is not really wine which they uſe as wine. The patriarch was a man of very extenſive knowledge, but very little acquainted with the cuſtoms of the eaſtern churches.

It was never objected to the Greeks that they made uſe of leavened bread, which has been long in uſe in the weſt. And the prayers, piety, and ſolemnity, with which the Orientals prepare the korban, are decencies which the Latins would not do amiſs to imitate in the making of their hoſts.

As for wine, there is little of it in Ethiopia, and it is ſcarce poſſible to keep it there; to remedy this inconvenience they keep raiſins in the ſacriſty, which they ſteep for ſome days in water, and having dried them a little in the ſun, expreſs the juice, which is forbidden to be kept in any other veſſels than thoſe dedicated to that uſe, which are laid up in the ſacriſty. Which is thus explained in their rituals. "Obſervet quoque ſacerdos diligenter vinum, ne in acetum verſum fuerit, aut ſaporem ſuum amiſerit. In neceſſitate autem ſumatur uvarum ſuccus, aut ex uvis paſſis liquor expreſſus, modo expers ſit ignis aut alterius hujus modi excoctionis, cum enim vinum bonum deeſt, cum iſto liturgia celebrari poteſt. Non oportet omnino ſacerdotem ad altare deferre vinum in eo vaſe quod fidelis quiſque laicus vir aut fæmina attulerit, ſed deferet illud in vaſe quod in eccleſia, peculiariter ad hunc uſum deſtinatum ſit."

The father du Bernat, being deſigned for the miſſion of Ethiopia, was at a loſs how to ſay maſs there; and conſulting Mr Poncet who had been there, was aſſured by him that the water penetrating the raiſin reſtored it to its natural juice; and that conſequently what

was

was expreſſed was true and natural wine; that it was the ſame thing whether the water entered through the ſkin of the raiſin or at the root of the vine; but this reaſoning gave little ſatisfaction to father du Bernat.

It is true that the Orientals do not elevate the hoſt, or, to uſe their term, the *iſbadicon*, immediately after the conſecration, but juſt before the communion. Then the deacon cries out *attendamus*, and the prieſt, *ſanctâ ſanctis*. At the time of the elevation, the deacons lift up the tapers and croſſes, and the people bowing and uncovering their heads, cry out, *Verily ſo it is; O Lord have mercy on us.* On Sunday the people only nod with their heads bare, but on other days they bow down their faces towards the earth.

He that celebrates, having firſt received the ſacrament himſelf, preſents it to his aſſiſtants, and afterwards to the people in this manner. If he has dipped the body of our Lord in the blood, he ſays, *Here is verily the body and blood of Emanuel, our God.* If it be not dipped, he only ſays, *Here is verily the body of Emanuel, our God. Amen.* The communicant anſwers, *Amen.* And in ſome churches, *We believe and confeſs it to the laſt breath of our lives.* Thoſe who have communicated retire without turning their backs to the altar. If the prieſt ſhall by misfortune let one particle of the body, or one drop of the blood, fall to the ground, he is neither permitted to adminiſter nor to receive the ſacrament for 40 days, being obliged to abſtain during that ſpace from the uſe of fat meats, to riſe and make 50 proſtrations every night.

That they receive the communion in two kinds is not denied. This cuſtom continued many ages among us, and was allowed the Bohemians by the council of Baſile. The patriarch Alphonſo Mendez wrote to the

King Baſilides, that he was ready to indulge the Abyſſins in it, but was anſwered that his conceſſion came too late.

It is owned, that however free the Abyſſins may be from any conformity in their notions of the euchariſt with the enemies of the Roman church; yet with regard to confeſſion, they are guilty of ſome errors. Three patriarchs who ſucceeded each other endeavoured to aboliſh confeſſion, and gave Mark the ſon of Alkonbari, who appeared with great zeal in the defence of it, abundance of trouble. He through his behaviour, which was not the moſt regular, gave his adverſaries great advantages over him in the controverſy, yet had his followers, and confeſſed great numbers. They had found out a very extraordinary method of ſupplying the defect of this part of penance; the prieſt, after having burnt incenſe upon the altar, went round the church and perfumed the people, who imagined that they ſufficiently confeſſed their ſins by crying out, *I have ſinned, I have ſinned.* The prieſt on his part repeated ſome prayers, which were a kind of abſolution. When corruptions crept in amongſt them, and the prieſts began to abuſe their power, complaints were made not only of the rigour of the penances which they impoſed, but likewiſe of their indiſcretion. Whereupon confeſſion being found too heavy a yoke, was neglected; and inſtead of throwing themſelves at the feet of a prieſt, they had recourſe to the expedient of throwing incenſe into a cenſer with other perfumes, and murmuring a few words with their mouths in the ſmoke, and crying out, *I have ſinned*, believing themſelves abſolved by that ceremony from all their faults. This ſuperſtition was called the *confeſſion of the cenſer.*

Mark,

Mark, the ſon of Alkonbari, preached againſt ſo ſtrange a manner of confeſſion; he blamed the mixture of ſpices, affirming that frankincenſe only was to be uſed in churches, becauſe it was offered by the magi to Jeſus Chriſt. The preaching of Mark had a good effect upon his audience and himſelf. He diſcovered and deteſted the errors of the Jacobites, and became a convert, together with his auditors. This corruption, great as it was, continued under John the ſon of Abulferah and the two patriarchs his immediate ſucceſſors, but was afterwards rectified; and the miſſionaries, who have often exaggerated the errors of the Abyſſins, ſay nothing of this. They confeſs themſelves ſeldom indeed; and inſtead of the penitent accuſing himſelf, as among us, the prieſt there examines him upon every article, impoſing the penance preſcribed by the canons, which is commonly ſufficiently ſevere. The prieſt then repeats ſeveral prayers over the penitent to implore God's pardon for him, and to obtain the ſpirit of compunction to be ſent down upon him with a fervour and zeal neceſſary to perform the penance injoined him. The Abyſſins being of opinion that ſatisfaction is an eſſential part of this ſacrament, the prieſt doth not give an entire abſolution till the penance is performed, or at leaſt the greateſt part of it. A prieſt who has been guilty of any conſiderable fault cannot ſay maſs till he has confeſſed, and is guilty of ſacrilege: if he acts contrary to this precept, the penance impoſed is generally twice as ſevere as that preſcribed to a layman for the ſame fault.

The uſe of confeſſion may have been interrupted by a corruption not leſs ancient than the Jacobite church, of which we may diſcover as ſatisfactory proof in the ninth century. The patriarch Sanutius or Cheneuda

had the weakneſs to abſolve from excommunication a deacon of a diſorderly life; and being reproached with it by his ſecretary, made this anſwer: You do not know, my ſon, that he had the confidence to partake of the holy communion without firſt confeſſing his ſin to God, imagining that by approaching that holy table he was reconciled to the church, and become a perfect Chriſtian; and that by receiving the ſacrament his ſins were forgiven him, depending on thoſe words, *This is my body, eat it, that your ſins may be forgiven you;* his crime on the contrary was much greater.

The learned Abbe, who hath given the world the hiſtory of the patriarchs of Alexandria, affirms, that the Cophtes never proceeded ſo far as to make any doubt of the neceſſity of confeſſion and penance.

Severus, biſhop of Aſchmunein, who lived in the tenth century, has written a treatiſe on the method of making an efficacious confeſſion: Wanſleb, who affirms that the Cophtes do not all agree in this point, cites ſome of thoſe who have written againſt him. Michael biſhop of Damieſa, who lived when this diſpute was carried on with the greateſt heat, was one of the moſt violent againſt confeſſion; Abulbaracat quotes ſeveral treatiſes written ſince on preparation for confeſſion. Wanſleb adds, that he knows certainly that they do confeſs, tho' but rarely, not from contempt of the ſacrament, but ſome from ignorance and ſtupidity, not knowing how they ought to confeſs; others for fear of the long and ſevere penances impoſed upon them.

We are told by Francis Alvarez, that Peter Covilhan never confeſſed to the Abyſſin prieſts, becauſe he had no opinion either of their diſcretion or their ſecrecy, and knew that they revealed the confeſſions made to them;

them; and he tells us in another place, that they confeſs and communicate ſtanding.

Father Tellez relates, that though the Abyſſins hold confeſſion to a prieſt neceſſary to obtain forgiveneſs of their ſins committed after baptiſm, they are yet under many errors concerning it: for they do not confeſs till they are 25 years old, imagining themſelves till then in the age of innocence; and they ſpeak of one that dies at 16 or 17 years as we ſpeak of an infant. When they confeſs, they content themſelves with ſaying in general, *I have ſinned, I intreat you to give me abſolution.* And if they are preſſed by the prieſt to particulariſe their faults, they deſire him to examine them; and are aſked by him whether they have committed murder or theft, and whether they have broken the fifth commandment, as if theſe were the only ſins mankind is obnoxious to. And what is yet worſe, the prieſt doth not give them abſolution in the manner of the Latin church; but having repeated ſome words, ſtrikes the penitent with an olive branch, of which they take care never to be without great plenty, that abſolution may not be difficult to obtain. This laſt circumſtance, on which Mr Ludolf has diſplayed his erudition by quoting the Roman poets, wherever father Tellez learned it, is not mentioned by the patriarch, with whoſe words we here preſent the reader.

"SACRAMENTI penitentiæ uſum non exigui errores lacerabant, paucis peccatorum ſpecies et numerum exponentibus, generatimque dicentibus, peccavi, me abſolve; et confeſſioni ſolutio congruebat. Attentior tamen confeſſarius aliquando rogabat à quibus accedentem eſſet exſoluturus. Ille vero addebat, mentitus ſum, alienam famam vel uxorem violavi. Tunc ipſum in-

juncta mulcta liberum abire jubebat; ſed nemo, antequam illam penitus perſolveret, ſacro euchariſtiæ epulo accumbebat, cum nonnunquam unum vel duos annos jejunare, et ſingulis diebus quinquaginta, vel centum vel omnes Davidis pſalmos recitare juberetur. Unde ortum, ne moribundis eadem ſynaxis præbeatur; cum putent nihil ipſis profuturam confeſſionem, ſi deſit tempus ad ſatisfactionis cumulum addendum. Illâ nemo, ante viceſimum quintum ætatis annum, quem innocentiæ terminum credebant, animi ſordes eluebat. Tales vero tantum rebantur mechari, occidere et aliena furari, nec tamen ulla cuiquam redhibitio imponebatur; ſed novi apud eos juris regula nigebat; ut non dimitteretur peccatum, quin reſtitueretur ablatum. Cum ſolutâ ſcortari adeo erat innoxium, ut cum duo pacti eſſent per totam hyemen vel æſtatem congregari, clericum adirent, ut interpoſito anathemate, vetaret ne ille ad alteram, vel illa ad alterum abiret, et maritus ad prælium diſcedens uxorem præcaretur, ut quam vellet ex pediſſequis, vel ancillis, ſibi in militarem morem deſignaret, cum qua libidinari nihil erat ante Deum piaculi, vel in vicinia offenſionis, quo minus ſingulis diebus Dominicis angelorum pane, ut et prædicti reficeretur; pleroſque vera hujus ſacramenti forma latebat, duæ communiores precationem, una tantum aliquam judicialis ſententiæ formam exhibebat. Illæ erant: N. ſerve Dei, mittat te peccatum, illudque tibi Jeſus Chriſtus Petri et Pauli ore demittat; teque ab illius vinculo liberum reddat. N. ſerve Dei, Paracletus, venia largitor, omnia tua peccata deleat. Iſta: Solvatur tibi peccatum tuum ore Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, ſanctorum Petri et Pauli; et tercentum decem et octo patrum qui rectæ fidei fuerunt. Duas priores formas nu-

gaces fuiſſe, nemo dubitabit; num tertia probanda ſit, theologis controverſum."

It is eaſy to diſcover from this account of the patriarch, that though ſome corruptions with reſpect to the ſacrament of penance have been introduced, yet auricular confeſſion is practiſed among the Ethiopians; that there are ſome among them ſkilful enough to diſtinguiſh the circumſtances of ſins, *peccatorum ſpecies;* and that they conſider the number, *et numerum;* that there are confeſſors who examine their penitents about other ſins, than murder, theft, and adultery, who demand whether they have been guilty of lies and calumny; and that they impoſe ſevere and long penances, agreeable to the canons obſerved among them.

Father du Bernat tells us, that with regard to the ſacrament of penance, there is an exact conformity of belief between the Cophtes and the Romaniſts, with a difference of ceremony and cuſtom. As to belief, they hold themſelves obliged to confeſs to the prieſt their particular ſins, with the number of them; after which the confeſſor repeats a form of prayer to implore pardon and remiſſion of ſins, and a ſecond prayer anſwerable to that ſaid by us after the abſolution. What he terms the difference of ceremony is the precatory form made uſe of by the Cophtes and Greeks in giving the abſolution. He adds, that he endeavoured to give himſelf farther ſatisfaction by enquiring of the prieſts, whether in the adminiſtration of this ſacrament they expreſſed nothing in poſitive terms; and was informed, that the penitent, before he goes away, ſays, *I have ſinned, my father, give me abſolution;* and is anſwered by the prieſt, *Be thou abſolved from thy ſins.*

The

The ſame father having complained of the indulgence of the confeſſors, owns, that in ſcandalous ſins they are more ſevere, and oblige them to perform the penance enjoined, at leaſt in part, before they give them abſolution; but this is a caſe that rarely happens: they act in the ſame manner with thoſe who are enemies to each other, and compel them to a reconciliation.

Alvarez relates, that he knew one in Ethiopia, named *Ababitag*, who had been ſeveral years excluded from the ſacraments for having three wives; that he diſcarded two and kept the third, being thereupon admitted into the church, as a partaker of the ſacraments, as if he had never had above one wife.

In ſhort, whatever Mr Ludolf may ſay with all his Ethiopic learning, the Abyſſins, like us, hold the ſacrament of penance and auricular confeſſion, which is part of it. They believe with us, that Jeſus Chriſt is really and eſſentially preſent in the euchariſt, which they adore and receive like us, but in two kinds. The inſnaring queſtions of Mr Ludolf to Gregory prove nothing but his inſincerity; and Gregory anſwers nothing but his ignorance.

DIS-

DISSERTATION XIII.

ON

EXTREME UNCTION, ORDINATION, AND MARRIAGE.

THE Cophtes, the Syrian Jacobites, the Neſtorians or Melchites, call what the Greeks term *euchelaion* and the *extreme unction*, *kandil* or *zeis el katidil*, that is, the lamp or oil of the lamp. An account of the manner in which this ſacrament is adminiſtered among them will be a ſufficient explanation of the name. Several prieſts take the oil of a lamp of ſeven branches, over which they have repeated ſome pſalms and prayers, and anoint the ſick with it, not in his bed, or at home, but in the church, to which he is carried before he comes to the laſt extremity.

All the Orientals ſay that this practice was inſtituted by Chriſt himſelf, when he ſent out his apoſtles by two and two to preach the goſpel, giving them power over unclean ſpirits. The apoſtles drove out the unclean ſpirits, and anointing the ſick with oil, cured them. That in conformity with that practice the apoſtle St James, ch. v. ver. 14. ſays, *Is any ſick among you? let him call for the elders*

elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith ſhall ſave the ſick, and the Lord ſhall raiſe him up; and if he have committed ſins, they ſhall be forgiven him. The ritual of Gabriel patriarch of the Jacobites, preſcribes the manner of the adminiſtration of this ſacrament.

"A lamp of ſeven branches, filled with good oil of Paleſtine, is ſet near the image of the bleſſed Virgin, and the goſpel and croſs are placed near it: The prieſts aſſemble to the number of ſeven (though the number is of no ſtrict importance); and the eldeſt of them begins the thankſgiving in the liturgy of St Baſil, and burns incenſe before the reading of the epiſtle of St Paul; then they all repeat *kyrie eleeſon*, the Lord's prayer, the 31ſt pſalm, the prayer that is in the liturgy for the ſick, and the others ſet down in the office of extreme unction. Theſe being ended, he lights one of the branches, making the ſign of the croſs upon the oil, and in the mean time the others ſing pſalms. After he has ended the prayers for the diſeaſed, and read a leſſen out of the epiſtle general of St James, with the *ſanctus*, *Gloria Patri*, and the prayer of the goſpel, he ſays a pſalm alternately with another prieſt, and then reads a goſpel, the three prayers that follow in the liturgy, one to the Father, another for peace, another general; then the Nicene creed and the prayer that follows it.

Then the ſecond prieſt begins the benediction of his branch, and lights it, making the ſign of the croſs; then ſays the Lord's prayer, and three others of the liturgy, reading a leſſon from St Paul, and one from the goſpel, with a pſalm and a particular prayer for the ſick. The ſame prayers are repeated by the other prieſts

prieſts in their order; ſo that in this ceremony, as the author of *Eccleſiaſtic Science* obſerves, they read ſeven leſſons from the epiſtles, ſeven from the goſpels, ſeven pſalms, and ſeven particular prayers, beſides thoſe ſet down in the liturgy.

When all this is ended, he on whoſe account the lamp is bleſſed, if his ſtrength will permit, approaches and ſits down with his face turned towards the eaſt. The prieſts, putting the goſpel and the croſs upon his head, lay their hands on him. The eldeſt prieſt having ſaid the proper prayers, makes the ſick ſtand up, and with the book of the goſpels gives him his benediction; and then the Lord's prayer is repeated. Afterwards the book is opened, and the paſſage read to him which firſt occurs. They rehearſe the creed, and three prayers; after which they raiſe the croſs over the head of the ſick, and pronounce the general abſolution out of the liturgy. If the time will allow, they afterwards ſay other prayers, and make a proceſſion in the church, with the bleſſed lamp and lighted tapers, to implore God to cure the ſick by the interceſſion of the martyrs and other ſaints. If the ſick be not in a condition to be brought himſelf near the altar, another is ſubſtituted in his place. After the proceſſion, the prieſts anoint the ſick and each other. The aſſiſtants likewiſe receive an unction, but performed in a different manner from that on the ſick."

Wanſleb gives the ſame account in his Hiſtory of the Church of Alexandria, except that he ſays nothing of the proceſſion or that which follows; but affirms that they anoint the ſick ſeven days; a practice formerly in uſe among the Latins, as appears from the ſacramentary of St Gregory, and the notes of the learned benedictine Hugh Menard.

It

It is nevertheleſs probable from the letter of Father du Bernat, that either the avarice or ignorance of the prieſts has introduced ſome abuſes with regard to this ſacrament. That learned and pious miſſionary's account of it is in general this:

The ſacrament which we call the *extreme unction*, is called by them the *holy unction*, or *kandil*, that is the *lamp;* which being commanded by St James to be uſed to the ſick, is, by means of a diſtinction of the ſick, into the ſick of diſeaſes, of ſins, and of afflictions, applied by them, as by the Greeks, to all ſorts of perſons. Their manner of adminiſtering it is this: the prieſt, aſſiſted by the deacon, having pronounced the abſolution to the ſick, burns the incenſe, and taking a lamp, bleſſes the oil and lights the wick; then ſays ſeven prayers, between each of which the deacon reads a leſſon taken from the epiſtle of St James and other parts of ſcripture. Then the prieſt, taking the holy oil from the lamp, anoints the forehead of the diſeaſed, with theſe words, *God heal you in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* Nor is this all; for an unction is likewiſe performed on the aſſiſtants, leſt, ſay they, the evil ſpirit might enter into one of them: ſo great is their ignorance. According to the ritual, this ceremony is performed by ſeven prieſts, each of which lights his wick. If there be a biſhop preſent with ſix prieſts, it belongs to his office to light the ſeven wicks, and ſay ſeven prayers, the prieſts only reading the leſſons. The ſame rites are obſerved whether the ſacrament be adminiſtered in the church after confeſſion or in the houſe of the ſick.

Father Goar, that learned Dominican, who after having reſided ſo long among the Greeks, has favoured the world with ſo many excellent works, has obſerved,

in his notes on the euchology, that the ſick were not always carried to church to receive extreme unction, and that it was ſometimes adminiſtered to them at home and in their bed. He doth not condemn the cuſtom among the prieſts of anointing each other and the aſſiſtants, after having adminiſtered the extreme unction, with the ſame oil. But he and Arcudius, together with the Abbe Renaudot, maintain, that neither the prieſts nor the others imagine that they by that means receive extreme unction, and that what they do with ſo much devotion is only to ſhow their reſpect to the holy oil. So that neither Mr Ludolf, nor any other Proteſtant, can conclude, that the Greeks and orientals do not reckon extreme unction among their ſacraments.

Mr Ludolf, it is true, ſupports his opinion by the teſtimonies of Father Godigno, and the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez; but he had at the ſame time the contrary account of Wanſleb his ſcholar before his eyes, who had been, as he knew, in Egypt, and had viſited the chief monaſteries there, had read many manuſcripts, held long conferences with the Cophtes, and written his hiſtory of their church under the immediate inſpection of the patriarch. He ought certainly, in this caſe, to have diſtruſted the miſſionaries, whoſe relations he profeſſes in other caſes to depend ſo little on. He ought to have conſulted their rituals and catechiſms, or at leaſt his Gregory. Inſtead of this caution, he reſigns himſelf with the moſt implicit credulity to the accounts of the patriarch, and the fathers Tellez and Godigno. *Comment.* p. 267. So that it ſeems the miſſionaries are only to be believed when they favour the Lutherans and Calviniſts.

The opinion of the Cophtes or Jacobites concerning marriage

marriage cannot be better explained than by the account of Father du Bernat; which I here give from his own letter.

"What now remains, Reverend Father, is to give you an account of what relates to their marriages. The ſingle reading of the ritual ſufficiently proves that the Cophtes hold marriage to be a real ſacrament; mention being made in all the prayers of the grace of Jeſus Chriſt conferred in it. When two perſons have agreed to enter into this ſtate, the prieſt going to their houſe examines whether there be any impediments, and betroths them by repeating ſeveral prayers. The pair then go to church, where they are confeſſed by the prieſt, who after long prayers, aſks whether they are agreed to accept each other. Conſent being given on each ſide, they hear maſs and communicate.

"See here a ſacrament celebrated with much ſolemnity; to which it were to be wiſhed the Cophtes had ſomewhat more regard, and that either they underſtood with more exactneſs that binding obligation, or rather that they would confine themſelves to the obſervation of it. For not only in caſe of adultery, but even of long ſickneſs, or upon caſual averſions, or quarrels about domeſtic affairs, and often upon ſome diſguſt, they cut the ſacred marriage knot; a liberty taken by the wife no leſs than the huſband. The party which attempts the diſſolution of the marriage, firſt applies to the patriarch, or to the biſhop, to deſire it; who, after trying ſome perſuaſions to the contrary, conſents. The ſame party then comes again for a permiſſion to contract a ſecond marriage, which is eaſily obtained. If it ſhould at any time fall out that the reaſons alleged for a ſeparation are too frivolous to be allowed, if they can prevail on any prieſt to be ſo complaiſant

plaiſant as to marry them, they are excuſed by being excluded ſome time from the ſacraments."

This is the French miſſionary, whom we oppoſe to thoſe of Portugal, when they affirm that the marriages of the Abyſſins cannot be called marriages, ſince the bride and bridegroom ſeldom come together without an intention of parting upon the firſt opportunity. The ceremony of marriage is not performed in ſecret, but publicly. They receive the communion when they are married, and believe that by communicating they are made one body. If the marriage be not ſolemnized before a prieſt, it is to be declared void.

Alvarez hath deſcribed the ceremony of a marriage at which he aſſiſted. It was performed by the Abuna or patriarch. The man and woman were at the door of the church, where a kind of bed was prepared, on which the Abuna made them ſit down, going round them in proceſſion with the croſs and cenſer; then laying his hands on their heads, he told them, that as they were now become one fleſh, they ought to be of one heart and one mind; and after having made a ſhort exhortation to the ſame purpoſe, proceeded to ſay maſs, being aſſiſted by the bridegroom and bride, who afterwards received the nuptial benediction. Theſe marriages are firm and binding, nor to be diſſolved but upon ſtrong reaſons; nor do the meaner people often indulge themſelves in thoſe ſcandalous ſeparations too frequent among perſons of quality.

The eaſy diſſolution of marriages, and polygamy, too frequent among theſe nations, are probably Jewiſh ſuperſtitions; which the Jacobite church doth not appear to approve, ſince ſhe denies the ſacrament to thoſe perſons who have more wives than one. The Jacobites have the ſame notions with us of the eſſen-

tiality of a prieſt to the ſolemnization of marriage, and agreeable to our uſage, ſay maſs and give the communion.

They have likewiſe another cuſtom of crowning the bridegroom and bride. The crowns being placed on their heads with great ceremony by the prieſt, are worn eight days, and then taken off with equal ceremony and as many prayers. From this practice, the ſacrament of marriage is called by Greeks, and all the orientals, *the coronation;* and the unlawful marriages are termed *marriages without a coronation;* a proof that they look on the miniſtry of the prieſt as neceſſary to that ſacrament.

It now remains that we ſpeak of the ſacrament of ordination. Though the Abyſſins, through their ſervile dependence on the patriarch of Alexandria, have been almoſt whole ages without an Abuna, yet there is no reaſon to think that the ſucceſſion has been interrupted, unleſs in the patriarchs themſelves. The Abuna, who is ordained and ſent into Ethiopia by the authority only of that patriarch, is the only perſon who confers orders, and makes readers, deacons, or prieſts. The manner of conferring orders has been ſo little ſpoken of by the miſſionaries, that Father Tellez was obliged to refer us to the writings of Alvarez.

We are informed by Alvarez, that he aſſiſted at the ordination of two thouſand three hundred and fifty-ſix perſons, and that it was leſs numerous than uſual, becauſe the coming of the Abuna had not been ſufficiently publiſhed; and generally five or ſix thouſand were ordained at one time. A white tent was fitted up, and the Abuna came, with a great number of attendants, upon his mule, upon which he ſat while he made a ſhort harangue in Arabic, that if any of thoſe who

came to receive orders had more than one wife, he ſhould retire on pain of excommunication: after which he alighted and ſat down by his tent; while ſome of the prieſts placed thoſe who came for ordination in three rows, examining them at the ſame time only whether they could read, by preſenting them a book, and marking them according to their approbation of them upon the arm: thoſe that were ſo marked ranged themſelves together. The examination being over, the Abuna entered his tent, and laid his hand upon the head of each, repeating in the Coptic language this prayer, *Gratia divina quæ infirma Sanat*, &c. After each particular prieſt had been ordained in this manner, the Abuna ſaid many prayers, and gave many benedictions with a little iron croſs; the prieſt read the epiſtle and goſpel, and the Abuna, ſaying maſs, gave the communion to all the prieſts.

Alvarez objected to the king that they diſhonoured the prieſthood by admitting the blind and lame; and that they were guilty of the higheſt offence againſt decency, in ſuffering the candidates for orders to ſtand entirely naked, without even covering that which modeſty requires to be concealed.

The ſame Alvarez writes, that they confer the ſub-deaconſhip and inferior orders without any examination, and even on infants at the breaſt, and on children at any time to the age of fifteen. They muſt be unmarried to be made clerks, but they take wives before they aſſume the prieſthood, becauſe a prieſt cannot marry.

They who would be ordained clerks or ſub-deacons paſs in a row before the Abuna as he ſits in a chair in the midſt of the church. He crops their hair, makes them touch the church keys, puts a napkin on their

heads, and the veſſels uſed at the communion in their hands, as a token that they are to ſerve at the altar. This ceremony ended, the Abuna ſays maſs, and admits thoſe whom he has ordained to the communion.

This account is ſufficiently conformable to the anſwers of Tecla Mariam, when he was examined at Rome concerning this ordination. "I was fifteen years old (ſaid he) when the archbiſhop gave me the firſt orders. He cropped my hair in five places in form of a croſs, repeating in the Coptic language ſome prayers which I did not underſtand, anointed my forehead with oil, and then ſaid maſs." Tecla Mariam, not being able to give a ſatisfactory anſwer to all the queſtions which were put to him, was re-ordained.

This re-ordination was not approved by thoſe who underſtood the ſtate of the eaſtern church. The Abyſſins, no leſs than the Cophtes and Greeks, give nearly the ſame definition of ordination as we; agreeing that it is a ſacred mark, accompanied with many ſolemn ceremonies, with which the biſhop, by the impoſition of hands, confers on the perſons ordained a portion of grace convenient for the eccleſiaſtical office to which they are raiſed.

They believe with us that epiſcopacy, the prieſthood and deaconſhip, were inſtituted by Jeſus Chriſt, and delivered down to us by the apoſtles and their ſucceſſors; that this ſacrament is neceſſary for ſupplying the church with miniſters; that a man not ordained according to that inſtitution cannot conſecrate the euchariſt, or perform any office of a prieſt. If the prieſts have ever been obliged in Abyſſinia to perform the offices of biſhops, it hath proceeded from ignorance or indiſcreet zeal. Their canons direct that the prieſt

ſhall

ſhall be found in all his limbs, a man of learning, of a good character, and reputable family. Neither ſlaves nor baſtards, nor even thoſe born of a ſecond marriage, can be admitted to orders.

The Abuna is charged with conferring the prieſthood on unworthy perſons, and not only of neglecting to obſerve a proper diſtance of time between the different orders, but of conferring ſeveral at one time; a practice contrary to all diſcipline ancient and modern.

Whatever the miſſionaries, and after them Father Balthaſar Tellez, may ſay, there is no denying the validity of the orders conferred by the Abuna according to the practice of the eaſtern Chriſtians: and there is reaſon to wiſh that the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez had, before he repeated baptiſm and holy orders, conſulted on that ſubject ſome wiſe and learned perſons, verſed in the knowledge of antiquity and the practice of the eaſtern church.

DISSERTATION XIV.

ON THE

INVOCATION OF SAINTS, MIRACLES, PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD, FASTS, IMAGES, AND RELICS.

HAVING ſhown the conformity of the Abyſſinian belief concerning the ſacraments with ours, it remains, that to complete our undertaking, we prove that Mr Ludolf has dealt unfairly on other points of controverſy, by ſhowing the ſentiments of the Abyſſins and their practice, with regard to prayer for the dead, invocation of ſaints, miracles, relicks, the diſtinction of meats and faſts, and tradition; all which are points on which we reproach the Proteſtants with errors.

Mr Ludolf, who had ſo many liturgies in his hands, which he ought to have made public, could not be unacquainted with the prayers which they uſe for the dead.

In the maſs attributed to St Baſil, the prieſt, after the commemoration of the ſaints, goes on. "Remember likewiſe, O Lord, the prieſts and laymen; grant, Lord, that their ſouls may repoſe in the boſom of the ſaints

ſaints Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob: ſend them into that happy place, where refreſhing waters may be found; into that paradiſe of delights, from whence are baniſhed all ſighs, ſadneſs, and ſorrow of heart, and where they may rejoice in the light of thy ſaints. Remember, O Lord, our fathers and our brethren who have died in the true faith; give them reſt with thy ſaints, and with thoſe whom we have now commemorated: give reſt to ſinners, and remember thoſe who have made theſe offerings, and thoſe for whom they are made. Remember, O Lord, thoſe who have died in the true faith of our fathers and our brethren; grant that their ſouls may reſt with the ſaints and the juſt: conduct them, and aſſemble them in a pleaſant place near cool and living water, in a paradiſe of delight, and with thoſe whoſe names we have now repeated."

Alvarez, who ſatisfies himſelf with telling what he was an eye-witneſs of, ſpeaking of the obſequies in uſe among the Abyſſins, ſays, that when they have brought the body into the church, they throw it immediately into the grave, without ſinging, ſaying any thing of our office for the dead, or celebrating any maſs for the ſinner; that they ſanctify themſelves with ſprinkling the body with holy water, perfuming it with incenſe, and reading the goſpel of St John.

The Abyſſins have no particular maſſes for the dead, and do not change the order of their ſervice, but they always uſe prayers and commemorations for the dead; and in the collection of canons, which they pretend to have been extracted from the conſtitution of St Clement, it is directed, that ſacrifice ſhall be offered, and prayers ſaid for the dead, on the third and ſeventh days, and at the end of the month and of the year. And in

the ſtatutes of the patriarch Chriſtodulus, who lived about the middle of the eleventh century, it is ordered, that on Palm-Sunday after maſs, ſhall be read a leſſon out of the epiſtles of St Paul, the goſpel, and the prayers for the dead.

He then adds, "It is neither convenient nor allowable for Chriſtians to lament or wear mourning for the dead on Sundays, but the litanies and maſs ſhall be uſed for them, and prayers ſhall be ſaid, and alms given, that God may have mercy on the ſouls of the deceaſed."

Though the Abyſſins do not entirely agree among themſelves about the ſtate of the ſoul after its ſeparation from the body, they yet all acquieſce in this opinion, that to enjoy eternal felicity the Divine juſtice muſt firſt be ſatisfied; and that the prayers ſaid and good works done for the dead ſupply the defect of what they had omitted in their lives, provided they have not made themſelves unworthy of them.

Thoſe who read the anſwers given by the Abyſſin Gregory to Mr Ludolf's queſtions, B. III. will hardly entertain any high opinion of his genius or capacity. Mr Ludolf doth not allow that the Abyſſins pray to the ſaints, but aſcribes the notions which prevail among them in this point to the pathetic diſcourſes of their biſhops, who, by a rhetorical apoſtrophe, addreſs themſelves to the ſaints, and introduce them ſpeaking: and thus, according to Mr Ludolf, the corrupt cuſtom of invoking the ſaints was introduced among the Abyſſins.

Mr Ludolf, when he wrote this, had his mind intent upon ſomewhat elſe, or did not know that the Abyſſins have only one Metropolitan, and no other biſhops; that this Metropolitan is a foreigner, who either

ther doth not underſtand the language, or at leaſt underſtands it very imperfectly, and never preaches: The invocation of ſaints, if it be a corruption, is a corruption of long continuance, ſince we hold it in common with nations which have been near 1200 years in a ſtate of ſeparation from the church of Rome.

The ſame may be ſaid of miracles, of images, and the veneration paid to relicks. Their books are filled with hiſtories of miracles; they repair to the tombs of their ſaints, and conſult them, and receive anſwers from them.

They ſet down in their kalendar the feaſts of the tranſlation of the bodies of ſaints, for which I appeal to Mr Ludolf; and to the kalendar which he has given us.

The 1ſt of January St Stephen, the firſt martyr. The Cophtes make this day the feaſt of the diſcovery of his body, and place the feaſt of this maryrdom on the 19th of September. About this my Abyſſin owns there is a diſpute.

The 22d of the ſame month, The tranſlation of the body of Timothy, which the Alexandrians affirm to have been carried to the church of the holy apoſtles at Conſtantinople.

The 28th, The tranſlation of the body of Ephraim the Syrian.

The 30th, The tranſlation of the bones of 49 martyrs.

The 31ſt, The emerſion of the body of Hippolytus out of the ſea.

In the month of February, The tranſlation of the body of Joſeph. The tranſlation of the body of Marcian. The diſcovery of the head of St John.

If

If we ſhould go through the reſt of the kalendar, we ſhould find more days ſet apart for the commemoration of theſe tranſlations than in ours.

As for miracles, Mr Ludolf will not deny that they can ſupply us with an endleſs number. "But of their ſaints (ſays he, Hiſt. B. 3d.), they relate moſt aſtoniſhing miracles; it being little more than common among them to have mountains removed, the tempeſtuous ocean quieted, the dead raiſed, water drawn by a ſtroke from the rock, and rivers paſſed over without being wet." He thereupon makes this beautiful remark in his commentaries, "The wiſer doctors of the church of Rome acknowledge that miracles without ſound doctrine are not ſufficient to prove the truth of any church or religion."

In that we are agreed; but that is not our preſent buſineſs, which is to know, whether the Abyſſins, like us, believe that God ſometimes works miracles to make the glory of his ſaints manifeſt, and to ſhow that he doth not diſapprove the worſhip paid to them.

They have no carved images, but their churches are full of pictures; among which there is a picture pretended by them to have been ſent by Jeſus Chriſt to King Abgarus, and one of the bleſſed Virgin drawn by St Luke.

Father du Bernat, ſpeaking of the Jacobites, ſays, "They have, without compariſon, more reſpect for images than we; they proſtrate themſelves before them, and after having touched them reſpectfully with their hand, rub their eyes and face with it. I ſhall remark by the way, that theſe people did not probably borrow the veneration paid by them to images from the Greeks, from whom they have ſo much averſion; and

and that it is conſequently very ancient in the church of Alexandria. They have indeed none but pictures, but I never found any among them who condemned the uſe of images, or was not willing to pay them the ſame honour."

Alvarez, in his deſcription of the monaſtery of Biſan, aſſures us that it is full of painting, and that the church is hung round with the figures of the patriarchs and apoſtles, and that of St George on horſeback, which is to be ſeen in almoſt every church; that there is in this a great piece of ſatin, on which is drawn a crucifix, the Virgin, the patriarchs, prophets, and apoſtles; and that many other pictures are preſerved there, which are never expoſed but on feſtivals. Theſe pictures, ſays Wanſleb, are never ſhown till they are bleſſed, and are all extremely modeſt.

Some examples may be of force to convince the moſt incredulous Proteſtant of the reſpect which the Abyſſins, ſo long ſeparated from the church of Rome, have for images. Aſaba, the eldeſt ſon of Abdel-Aziz the governor, going into the church of Holovan, ſpit in contempt upon a picture of the bleſſed Virgin holding our Saviour in her arms: the night after, he had a dreadful viſion; in which he thought himſelf carried before a judge ſeated on a throne, and encompaſſed with ſoldiers clothed in white, where Jeſus Chriſt came and demanded juſtice for the inſult offered him by Aſaba; upon which one of the ſoldiers ſtabbed him with a lance. When he awaked he found himſelf in a high fever, and died immediately. A Mahometan having pierced a crucifix with his lance, imagined that he had received the blow and was fixed to the crucifix; nor could he be recovered till he had promiſed to become a Chri-

Chriſtian. Stranger ſtories than theſe are not to be met with in our legends.

It is well known what ſtories the Abyſſins have believed, and even what they continue to believe, about the ark and the rod of Moſes, which they imagine are preſerved amongſt them.

As the kings of Nubia and Abyſſinia encamp or travel with their whole family, they have obtained from the patriarch of Alexandria to have a moveable altar, that they may not, wherever they are, be without the celebration of the maſs. This altar is carried with great ceremony, agreeably to the genius and cuſtom of the people, who have a great veneration for every thing made uſe of for the ſervice of the altar, as ſufficiently appears by the ſolemnity with which the korban or conſecrated bread is made. None enter the church otherwiſe than with their feet bare. The ſanctuary is not open to any except the prieſts and deacons, who would think themſelves guilty of a great ſin if they ſhould ſpit in it.

Mr Ludolf, who loſes no opportunity of diſplaying his vaſt learning, has taken care to tell us, that in the firſt dawn of Chriſtianity, when the church mourned under the oppreſſion of heathen emperors, the divine myſteries were diſtributed on tables placed in the burying-yards, and made in the ſhape of a coffin, which they filled with the bones of dead Chriſtians, from whence proceeded the veneration for relicks. He was ſo enamoured of this thought that he has procured this coffin to be engraved; and imagines, that from hence the Abyſſins call the altars which they carry with them by the name of *arks*. It is, methinks, more natural to ſuppoſe, that this nation being firmly perſuaded

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that they have had the ark of the covenant from time immemorial in their church of Axuma, and having for their moveable altars a veneration not very different from that of the Jews for their ark, have given them the ſame name *Tabout*.

There hath yet appeared no great conformity between the religion of the Abyſſins and Proteſtants, nor will there appear more in what we have to add. Anciently the Abyſſins went in large troops to viſit the holy places; and Alvarez aſſures us, that in his time there was a great conflux of people at the tombs of Aba Licanos and Aba Gariman: There is no country in the world in which there are ſo many churches and monaſteries, or ſuch numbers of religious. The monks are confined to the obſervance of the ſtricteſt rules. Faſting and abſtinence is carried here to the greateſt height; even ſo far that it is not eaſy to believe what Alvarez has written upon that ſubject. During the great lent they neither eat butter nor milk, nor any thing that has had life. They faſt all the holy week upon bread and water; every Wedneſday and Friday of lent, many of the religious, as well women as men, ſpend the night in the frozen pools up to the neck in water; they always wear the hair-cloth and iron-chains, which often enter ſo deep into the ſkin that they cannot be ſeen: They eat only every other day. Thus lent is obſerved throughout Abyſſinia, men, women, and children faſting with great exactneſs; ſo that the king being once encamped near his enemies in lent, his ſoldiers were ſo weakened and macerated by the ſeverities of that ſeaſon, that they were unable to defend themſelves. Maſs is never celebrated on thoſe days till evening; and they who communicate generally do

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it faſting. The lent laſts there 50 days. They faſt in advent with almoſt the ſame rigour as in lent, and the life of a religious among them is a perpetual abſtinence.

The miſſionaries, notwithſtanding, never left declaiming with very little prudence againſt the corrupt lives of the monks, even going ſo far as to declare that they ſpent more time with the women than in their convents: they confounded the good with the bad; and by their undiſtinguiſhing reproaches and ſevere reflections, made all the religious riſe againſt them, who brought upon them the general deteſtation of the whole empire.

Alvarez is more ſparing of his reprehenſions, and has been juſt in giving thoſe monks, who lived a life of true penitence, their due commendations: but had the corruption been greater and more univerſal even than the miſſionaries pretended, the rules of the orders ſtill continued the ſame, and by thoſe rules they ought to have judged of their profeſſion. When the monaſtic life was firſt introduced into Abyſſinia is not known; ſome are of opinion that Frumentius the apoſtle and firſt biſhop of the Abyſſins might have brought with him into that kingdom ſome diſciples of the great St Antony, that ſolitary ſaint, whoſe name is held in great veneration there. Others imagine that it was firſt practiſed in this empire in the reign of Amiamid, ſupporting their notion by the chronicle of Axuma, which relates, that in his time great numbers of monks from Greece and Egypt ſpread themſelves over all the empire; that nine of them fixed in the kingdom of Tigre, where each built a church.

In the time of the patriarch Benjamin, a new colony of monks, entirely Jacobites, was ſent thither, and by their

their means it was that the ſect ſo ſoon prevailed over all the country. They had at their head Tecla-Hemanot, who was eſteemed a ſaint among them. It is not probable that the Abyſſins have ever ſince that time received any Catholic monk, whatever may be ſaid on that ſubject by the Fathers Lewis de Angelis, Auguſtin, Francis, John Dos-Sanctor, and laſtly by Wanſleb.

DIS-

DISSERTATION XV.

ON THE

HIERARCHY OR GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ETHIOPIA.

WHOEVER reads Mr Ludolf's hiſtory of Ethiopia, will diſcover that it is undertaken with no other intention than to ſhow, on one ſide, the difference between the Roman church and the Alexandrian; and on the other, the conformity of the Alexandrian with the Proteſtant churches. We are told by him, B. II. ch. 9. that the Emperor of Ethiopia has an unlimited authority as well in religious as civil matters, over the church no leſs than the ſtate; and he endeavours to prove his aſſertion by reminding us of what Sultan Segued did *for* and *againſt the* Jeſuits, whom he called into his empire, and baniſhed out of it, without conſulting the patriarch of Alexandria. That prince, continues he, has, notwithſtanding the patriarch, the whole eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in his own hands, and aſſembles the councils or ſynods of his kingdom. "It may be proper (ſays Mr Ludolf, B. III. c. 7.) to examine here in what manner the church of Abyſſinia is

governed. We have ſaid already that the king is veſted with all the eccleſiaſtical authority, and that the judges appointed by him take cognizance of all ſorts of affairs, and that none are exempt from their examination except ſome trifling cauſes; eccleſiaſtical immunities are unknown in that country, and neither the clergy nor the monks have any privilege of exemption: The canon *ſiquis ſuadente diabolo* was never heard of here, nor does any thing hinder their being puniſhed by ſecular judges; they are often treated injuriouſly without any dread of excommunication." For this Mr Ludolf quotes the teſtimony of Father Balthaſar Tellez. He knows not to what lengths the immunity of eccleſiaſtics has been carried in Spain and Portugal, where it has ſcarcely been heard of, that a prieſt or monk has ſuffered death even for the moſt enormous crimes. A prieſt bred in theſe prejudices looks upon the puniſhment of an eccleſiaſtic as a violation of all laws divine and human, and calls that injury and violence which was done by a ſevere and exact adminiſtration of juſtice, for the preſervation of tranquillity and the public welfare. The patriarch Alphonſo Mendez was extremely offended at what the Emperor thought he had no right to complain of, that the prince had by his own authority ordered the interment of the general of St Anthony's order, who had relapſed before his death. His remonſtrances on this occaſion were the original of thoſe quarrels, which produced conſequences ſo fatal to the miſſion and miſſionaries.

There is not in the world a monarch more abſolute than the Emperor of Ethiopia, who hath nevertheleſs no authority in eccleſiaſtical affairs, nor has any right ſo much as to enter the ſanctuary, unleſs he be inveſted with holy orders. It is for this reaſon that the empe-

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rors of Ethiopia are generally made deacons, and ſome of them prieſts. The church of Abyſſinia is governed by the Metropolitan whom they call *Abuna*, that is, our Father; and this Metropolitan has no other biſhop ſubordinate to him. He is named and conſecrated by the patriarch of Alexandria; who, to keep this church in a more abſolute dependance, never gives them a prelate of their own country: ſo that the Abuna, neither underſtanding the language, nor being able to make himſelf underſtood, it may eaſily be conceived how the church is governed, and with what juſtice the paſtor may ſay, *I know my ſheep, and my ſheep know me.* Yet ignorant and unacquainted as he was with the people, he has formerly had ſo much power, that no man was acknowledged as king till he had been conſecrated by the hands of the Abuna. So eſſential was this once thought, that the Abuna has ſometimes made uſe of this power to exclude uſurpers and preſerve the regal dignity to the true prince; a proof of which we have in the hiſtory of the patriarchs of Alexandria, which was neither known to Father Tellez nor Mr Ludolf.

In the life of John the 72d patriarch of Alexandria, it is related, that a prince of the Houſe of Zague being refuſed conſecration by the Abuna, demanded of the patriarch of Alexandria another Metropolitan; he whom they then had being ſo old that he could not any longer execute the duties of his office. The patriarch, who was acquainted with his intention, anſwered, that it was not allowed by the canons to ordain a biſhop for any place without the conſent of him who was then in poſſeſſion of the ſee; and choſe rather to undergo a long and ſevere impriſonment from the Grand Vizier, whom the Emperor of Ethiopia had gained over to him, than to

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act contrary to his duty. Another king preſſing the Metropolitan Michael to conſecrate more than ſeven biſhops, and being anſwered by him that he could not do it without the conſent of the patriarch of Alexandria, wrote on that affair to the patriarch and ſultan; and not being able to obtain what he demanded, perſecuted and baniſhed the Metropolitan. But the diſapprobation of heaven was ſoon viſible in the many calamities with which the kingdom was afflicted without ceaſing, till the king acknowledged his fault, renounced his pretenſions, and implored pardon of the Alexandrian patriarch.

The Abuna Kilus having made himſelf notoriouſly infamous by many crimes, Lalibala, one of the moſt virtuous kings that the Abyſſins ever enjoyed, could not bear that they ſhould go unchaſtiſed, and demanded of the patriarch of Alexandria that he ſhould puniſh him. Kilus went into Egypt to clear himſelf of the crimes alleged againſt him; but his pleas being found inſufficient, he was depoſed with great ceremony at Cairo. The patriarch conſecrated Iſaac, who was received in Ethiopia with greater honours than had ever been paid to any Abuna.

No one can imagine that if the kings of Abyſſinia had an abſolute power in eccleſiaſtical affairs and over their clergy, they would have recourſe to a foreign power to puniſh their Abuna, when he ſtood charged with notorious crimes; or that they would remain ſo many ages in a mean and troubleſome dependance on the patriarchs of Alexandria, eſpecially when they have been almoſt whole ages without an Abuna, and conſequently without prieſts and all kinds of ſpiritual aſſiſtances.

When they call councils or aſſemble ſynods, they do

no more than was done by the Emperors Conſtantine and Theodoſius, and is done at this day by Chriſtian princes, when they call their clergy together upon any neceſſity of the church or ſtate; who yet are not ſaid to lay their hands on the cenſer, or to have the ſame power over the church as the ſtate.

The Abuna is in poſſeſſion of a large extent of lands, which yield him a conſiderable revenue, and the more becauſe in this country, where every man is in a ſtate of ſervitude, his farmers are exempt from tribute, or pay it only to him, except in ſome lands which he holds in the kingdom of Tigre, by paying a rent of 500 crowns to the king; a tax laid upon him by King Theodore, and called *Eda Abuna*, or the Abuna's acknowledgment. They ſtill make a collection for him of ſalt and linen cloth, which riſes to a conſiderable value. In ſpiritual matters he owns no other ſuperior than the patriarch of Alexandria, and has little correſpondence even with him after he is ordained. He is named firſt after him in all the public prayers; and is honoured with the ſeventh or eighth ſeat in the Arabic collection of canons called the *canons of Nice*. His dignity, though he has not a ſingle biſhop under him, places him above the Metroplitans; and probably when this rank was firſt aſſigned him, regard was had to the extent of his dioceſe. Diſpenſations are only granted by him; and ſeveral have been ſo avaricious that they have carried that power much farther than is allowed by the canons.

The Abuna is in ſome reſpects a patriarch, in others he is not; nor can we better inform the reader of the extent of his authority, or of his rank, than by referring him to the canon already ſet down in the Ninth Diſſertation.

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We have ſhown, in the explication of thoſe canons, the melancholy and vexatious dependance of the Abyſſinian church, and the abuſes and corruptions which are in ſome degree the neceſſary conſequences of ſuch a ſtate, which the princes certainly, had they any power over their clergy, or did they believe it lawful for them to intermeddle in eccleſiaſtical affairs, would not have borne ſo long. This ſervitude is nevertheleſs as ancient as the church of Abyſſinia, and hath continued from the time they were firſt bleſſed with the light of the goſpel.

The Abuna therefore acknowledges the patriarch of Alexandria as his ſuperior in theſe affairs, and acknowledges none but him.

The prelates which are ſent thither, are incapable of inſtructing the people, ſince they neither underſtand the language nor the cuſtoms of the country. Their whole office is to ordain prieſts yet more ignorant than themſelves, and often of corrupt morals; from hence proceed all thoſe errors and abuſes with which we ſo juſtly reproach the Abaſſins.

The komos, or hegumos, are the firſt eccleſiaſtical order after the biſhops; and as there are no biſhops in Ethiopia, the komos acknowledge no order above themſelves, and precede all the other prieſts. "Hegumenus ejuſdem ordinis eſt atque archipapas ſacerdotum ſeu archypreſbyter, atque adeo jus habet pronunciandi orationem abſolutionis ſuper ſacerdotem celebrantem, ut etiam adolendi incenſum poſt eum, et communionem accipiendi ab eo, ante omnes alios. Quando ſimul adeſt, epiſcopus accipit ab eo thuribulum." A prieſt cannot be ordained a biſhop among the Cophtes unleſs he be firſt a komos or hegumenos, which is not the ſame with the ſub-preſbyter, affirm-

ed by Mr Ludolf to be the prieſt or the deacon: This ſub-preſbyter is the ſame with what we call aſſiſting prieſts when maſs is celebrated with greater ſolemnity.

Low maſſes, or particular maſſes, are not known in Abyſſinia, where maſs is celebrated only in one manner by the prieſt accompanied with many prieſts and deacons. Alvarez writes, that the Abyſſins, although they did not abſolutely condemn our practice, were aſtoniſhed at the manner in which the Portugueſe celebrated the divine myſteries; and were particularly ſurpriſed to find that they did not go barefoot to the church, and that they ſpit in it. The monks never marry. It is pretended that there are two ſorts of them, one of which forms a congregation under their general, who reſided anciently at Debra Libanos; but that monaſtery being much expoſed to the incurſions of the Galles, he left it to eſtabliſh himſelf and his monks in the kingdom of Bagameder. The others have the ſame common rule, but their monaſteries have no dependance on each other. They are for the moſt part in great credit, and monks are often employed in the moſt important affairs of ſtate. The former aſcribe their inſtitution to the famous Tecla Haimanout, whoſe feaſt they celebrate with much ſolemnity on the 24th of Auguſt and the 24th of December; and in the month of May they commemorate the tranſlation of his relicks. He is believed by the Abyſſins to have worked a great number of miracles. The other monks claim Euſtatihus for their founder, to whoſe honour in July they celebrate a feſtival.

There are likewiſe two ſorts of hermits; ſome who chooſe that kind of life, that they may in ſome meaſure be more at liberty; and others who quit their convents with

with the leave of their ſuperiors, to lead a life of greater auſterity in ſolitude.

There is no doubt that the monks make vows, though they do not always keep them with ſufficient exactneſs.

The patriarch Alphonſo Mendez relates, that he inquired of Azage Tixo, ſecretary to the king of Ethiopia, who had been a monk, if the religious made any vows? and that he was told by the ſecretary, a man of gay temper, that the religious, lying proſtrate on the ground, promiſe their ſuperior, aloud, to preſerve their chaſtity; adding, in a low voice, *as you preſerve your's;* and that they make all the other vows with the ſame reſtriction.

We may ſay, nevertheleſs, that in Abyſſinia, as in every other place, there are pious and wicked monks to be found; and that the pious part of their monks carry auſterities and mortification much farther than the moſt rigorous of our hermits.

THE

PICTURE OF HUMAN LIFE.

Tranſlated from the Greek of CEBES, *a Diſciple of* SOCRATES.

AS we were walking in the temple of Saturn, and obſerving ſeveral of the preſents dedicated to that god, we were particularly ſtruck with a picture hung up before one of the chapels. Both the manner and the ſubject of it ſeemed to be foreign; ſo that we were at a loſs to know either whence or what it was. What is repreſented was neither a city nor a camp, but an incloſure containing two other incloſures, the one larger and the other leſs. To the outer incloſure there was a portal, with a great number of perſons ſtanding before it and ſeveral females within, and an aged man ſtanding by the portal, in the attitude of giving directions to thoſe who were going in.

After we had been debating among ourſelves for ſome time what all theſe things ſhould mean, an elderly perſon, who happened to be by, addreſſed himſelf to us in the following manner.

Old Citizen. As you are ſtrangers, it is no wonder that you ſhould be at a loſs to find out the meaning

of

of this picture, ſince ſeveral of the natives of this city themſelves know not the true intent of it: and indeed it was not placed here by any of our citizens, but by a ſtranger who viſited theſe parts ſeveral years ago. He was a very ſenſible man and a great philoſopher; and both in his converſation and practice ſeemed to approach nearer to the doctrines of Pythagoras and Parmenides, than to any other of our ſects. It was he who built this temple, and dedicated this picture in it to Saturn.

Stranger. Have you then ſeen the very perſon who gave it? And was you acquainted with him?

O. C. Yes, I was both well acquainted with him, and admired him very much; for though he was rather young, his converſation was full of wiſdom; and, among other things, I have often heard him explaining the ſubject of the picture before us.

S. I intreat you, if it will not be too troubleſome, to acquaint us with his explanation of it; for it is what we are all longing to know.

O. C. That would be rather a pleaſure than any trouble to me; but I ought to forwarn you of one thing before I begin, which is this, that the hearing it is attended with ſome danger.

S. What danger can there be in that?

O. C. It is no leſs than this, that if you obſerve and follow the leſſon that it gives you, it will make you wiſe and happy; but if you neglect it, you will be moſt miſerable and wretched all your days: So that the explaining of this is not unlike the riddle ſaid to have been propoſed to people by the ſphynx, which if the hearer underſtood he was ſaved, but if not he was to be deſtroyed. It is much the ſame in the preſent caſe; for ignorance is full as dangerous in life as the ſphynx was ſuppoſed to be in the fable. Now the pic-

ture before us includes all the doctrine of what is good in life, what is bad, and what indifferent; ſo that if you ſhould take it wrong, you will be deſtroyed by it: not indeed all at once, as the people were by that monſter, but by little and little, through all the reſidue of your life, as thoſe are who are given up to be put to death by ſlow tortures. On the contrary, if you underſtand it aright, then will your ignorance be deſtroyed, and you will be ſaved, and become happy and bleſt for all the reſt of your days. Do you, therefore, attend carefully to what I ſhall ſay to you, and obſerve it as you ought.

S. O Heavens, how have you increaſed our longing to hear what may be of ſuch very great importance to us!

O. C. It is certainly of the greateſt that can be.

S. Explain it then to us immediately, we beſeech you; and be aſſured that we will liſten to you with all the care and attention that a matter which concerns us ſo greatly muſt demand.

O. C. You ſee this grand incloſure. All this circuit is the circuit of Human Life, and that great number of people ſtanding before the portal, are thoſe who are to enter into life. This aged perſon, who ſtands by the entrance holding a paper in one of his hands, and pointing with the other, is the genius who directs all that are going in what they ſhould do after they are entered into life: and ſhows which way they ought to take in order to be happy in it.

S. And which is the way that he ſhows them? where is it?

O. C. Do you ſee that ſeat on the other ſide before the portal, and the woman ſitting on it with a cup in her hand? She who is ſo finely dreſſed, and makes ſo plauſible an appearance?

S. I

S. I ſee her; and pray, who is ſhe?

O. C. She is Deceit, the miſleader of man.

S. And what does ſhe do there?

O. C. As they are entering into life, ſhe offers them to drink of her cup.

S. And what does her cup contain?

O. C. Ignorance and Error; of which when they have drunk they enter into life.

S. And do all drink of this cup?

O. C. All drink of it; but ſome more and ſome leſs. A little farther, within the portal, do you not ſee a company of looſe women, with a great deal of variety both in their dreſs and airs?

S. I ſee them.

O. C. Thoſe are, the Opinions, Deſires, and Pleaſures; who, as the multitude enter, fly to them; embrace each of them with great earneſtneſs, and then lead them away with them.

S. And whither do they lead them?

O. C. Some to the way of Safety, and others to Perdition through their folly.

S. Ah, why did they drink of that liquor before they came in!

O. C. All of them alike tell thoſe whom they are embracing, that they will lead them to what is beſt, and will make their lives quite happy: whilſt the comers, blinded by the large draughts they have taken from the cup of Deceit, are incapable of diſtinguiſhing which is the true way in life; and wander about inconſiderately here and there, as you ſee they do. You may obſerve too, that they who have been in ſome time, go about juſt as theſe direct them.

S. They do ſo. But, pray, who is that woman who ſeems

ſeems to be both blind and mad, and who ſtands on that round ſtone there?

O. C. That is Fortune; and ſhe is really not only mad and blind, but deaf too.

S. What can her buſineſs be?

O. C. She flies about every where, and ſnatches what he has from one to give it to another; and then takes it away again from him to give it to a third; without any manner of meaning, or any degree of certainty: Which latter is very aptly ſignified by her figure here.

S. How ſo?

O. C. By her ſtanding on that round ſtone, which ſhows that there is no ſtability or ſecurity in her favours; as all who truſt to her find by ſome great and unexpected fall.

S. And what does all that company about her want of her? And how are they are called?

O. C. They are called The Inconſiderates, and are begging for ſome of thoſe things which ſhe flings about her.

S. And why do they appear with ſuch a diverſity of paſſions? Some of them are overjoyed, and others as very much diſtreſſed?

O. C. They who ſmile and rejoice, are ſuch as have received ſomething from her hand; and theſe call her by the title of Good Fortune: And ſuch as weep and mourn, are they from whom ſhe has reſumed what ſhe had before given them; and theſe call her Bad Fortune.

S. And what is it ſhe gives that ſhould make the former rejoice ſo much on the receiving it, and the latter lament ſo much at the loſs of it?

O. C. All thoſe things which the greateſt part of

mankind think good, ſuch as wealth, and glory, and nobility, and offspring, and dignities, and crowns; and all ſuch ſort of things.

S. And are not theſe really good things?

O. C. As to that we may talk more at large another time; but at preſent, if you pleaſe, let us ſtick to our picture. You ſee then, after entering this portal, there is another incloſure on a raiſed ground, and ſeveral women ſtanding before it, dreſſed out too much like ladies of pleaſure.

S. They are ſo.

O. C. Of theſe, this is Intemperance, that Luxury; this is Avarice, and that other Flattery.

S. And what do they ſtand there for?

O. C. They are waiting for thoſe who have received any thing from Fortune; and as they meet with them, they embrace them with the greateſt fondneſs, attach themſelves to them, do every thing they can to pleaſe them, and beg them to ſtay with them; promiſe them to render their whole lives delightful, eaſy, and free from all manner of care or trouble. Now whoever is carried away by them to Voluptuouſneſs, will find their company agreeable to him at firſt, whilſt they are fondling and tickling his paſſions: but it is ſoon quite otherwiſe; for when he recovers his ſenſes he perceives that he did not enjoy them, but was enjoyed by them; and that they prey upon him and deſtroy him. And when he has by their means conſumed all that he had received from Fortune, then he is obliged to become their ſlave, and to bear all the inſults they are pleaſed to impoſe upon him, to yield to all the moſt ſcandalous practices; and in the end, to commit all ſorts of villanies for their ſake, ſuch as betraying, defrauding, robbing, ſacrilege,

crilege, perjury, and the like: And when all theſe fail him, then is he given up to Puniſhment.

S. And where is ſhe?

O. C. Do not you ſee there, a little beyond thoſe women, a narrow dark cavern, with a ſmall ſort of door to it, and ſome miſerable women that appear within, clad only in filth and rags?

S. I ſee them.

O. C. She who holds up the ſcourge in her hand is Puniſhment; this, with her head ſunk almoſt down to her knees, is Sorrow; and that other tearing her hair is Anguiſh of Mind.

S. And, pray, who is that meagre figure of a man without any clothes on juſt by them? And that lean woman that reſembles him ſo much in her make and face?

O. C. Thoſe are Repining and his ſiſter Deſpair. To all theſe is the wretch I was ſpeaking of delivered up, and lives with them in torments, till finally he is caſt into the houſe of Miſery; where he paſſes the remainder of his days in all kinds of wretchedneſs; unleſs by chance Repentance ſhould fall in his way.

S. What happens then?

O. C. If Repentance ſhould chance to meet with him, ſhe will take him out of the evil ſituation he was in, and will place a different Opinion and Deſire before him: One of thoſe which lead to True Science, and the other of thoſe which lead to Science falſely ſo called.

S. And what then?

O. C. If he embraces that which leads to True Science, he is renewed and ſaved, and becomes a happy man for all his days; but if the other, he is bewildered again by Falſe Science.

S. Good heaven! what a new danger do you tell me of! And pray, which is Falſe Science?

O. C. Do you ſee that ſecond incloſure?

S. Very plainly.

O. C. And do not you ſee a woman ſtanding without the incloſure, juſt by the entrance into it, of a very ſtriking appearance, and very well dreſſed?

S. As plainly.

O. C. That is ſhe whom the multitude, and all the unthinking part of mankind, call by the name of Science; though ſhe is really Falſe Science. Now thoſe who are ſaved out of the houſe of Miſery call in here in their paſſage to True Science.

S. Is there then no other way to True Science but this?

O. C. Yes, there is.

S. And pray, who are thoſe men that are walking to and fro within the incloſure?

O. C. Thoſe who have attached themſelves to Falſe Science, miſtaking her for the True.

S. And what are they?

O. C. Some of them are poets, ſome rhetoricians, ſome logicians, ſome ſtudents in muſic, arithmetic, and geometry; pleaſuriſts, peripatetics, critics, and ſeveral others of the ſame rank.

S. And who are thoſe women who ſeem ſo buſy among them, and are ſo like Intemperance, and her companions in the firſt incloſure?

O. C. They are the very ſame.

S. Are they then admitted into this ſecond incloſure?

O. C. Yes, indeed; but not ſo readily or ſo frequently as in the firſt.

S. And are the Opinions too admitted?

O. C.

O. C. Undoubtedly; for the perſons who belong to this incloſure have not yet got rid of the draught which they took out of the cup of Deceit.

S. What then, Ignorance remains ſtill with them?

O. C. That it does, and Folly too; nor can they get rid of the Opinions, nor all the reſt of this vile train, till they quit Falſe Science, and get into the way of the True; till they drink of her purifying liquor, and waſh away all the dregs of the evils that remain in them; which that, and that only, is capable of doing. Such therefore as fix their abode with Falſe Science will never be delivered; nor can all their ſtudies clear them from any one of thoſe evils.

S. Which then is the way to True Science?

O. C. Do you ſee that place on high there, that looks as if it were uninhabited?

S. I do.

O. C. And do you diſcern a little opening between the rocks, and a ſmall tract leading to it, which is ſcarce beaten; and with very few people walking in it, as it is all rough, and ſtony, and difficult?

S. I diſcern it very plainly.

O. C. And do you not ſee a high cliff on the hill, almoſt inacceſſible, and with ſeveral precipices about it?

S. I ſee it.

O. C. That is the way which leads to True Science.

S. It is frightful only to look upon it.

O. C. And up above that cliff, do not you ſee a large riſing rock, all ſurrounded with precipices?

S. I ſee it.

O. C. Then you ſee alſo the two women that ſtand upon it, with ſo much firmneſs and beauty in their make, and how earneſtly they extend their hands.

S. I do ſo; and pray, who are they?

O. C.

O. C. Thoſe two are ſiſters, and are called Temperance and Perſeverance.

S. And why do they extend their hands ſo earneſtly?

O. C. They are encouraging thoſe who are arrived to that rock, and calling out to them to be of good heart, and not to deſpond, becauſe they have but a little more to ſuffer, and then will find the road all eaſy and pleaſant before them.

S. But how can they ever get up upon that rock itſelf? For I do not ſee any the leaſt path to aſcend it by.

O. C. The two ſiſters deſcend to meet them, and help them up. Then they order them to reſt a little, inſpire them with new ſtrength and reſolution, and promiſe to conduct them to True Science; point out the way to them, make them obſerve how even and eaſy and charming it is; and how free from all manner of difficulty or danger, as you ſee it repreſented here.

S. How well does it anſwer the deſcription!

O. C. You ſee before that grove the ground that extends itſelf into a beautiful meadow, with ſuch a lively light over it.

S. Very plainly.

O. C. Then you ſee the third inclofure, in the midſt of that meadow, and the portal to it.

S. I do ſo; and pray, what do you call this place?

O. C. The habitation of the bleſt; for here it is that Happineſs and all the Virtues dwell.

S. What a charming place have they to dwell in!

O. C. And do you obſerve the lady near the portal, with ſo beautiful and ſteady a look; of a middle age, or rather a little paſt it, and dreſſed in a long plain

robe, without any the leaſt affectation of ornaments? She is ſtanding there, not on a round ſtone, but a ſquare one firmly fixed in the ground; and by her are two other women, who look as if they were her daughters.

S. They do ſo.

O. C. Of theſe, ſhe in the midſt is Science, and the other two are Truth and Perſuaſion.

S. And why does Science ſtand on that ſquare ſtone?

O. C. To ſignify that her ways are ways of certainty, and that the preſents which ſhe gives to thoſe that arrive to her are firm and laſting.

S. And what is that ſhe gives to them?

O. C. Strength and tranquillity of mind, ariſing from a full aſſurance, that they ſhall never undergo any evil again in their whole lives.

S. O heavens, how deſirable are her preſents! But why does ſhe ſtand thus without the incloſure?

O. C. To receive thoſe that arrive thither, and give them to drink of her purifying liquor, and to conduct them into the preſence of the Virtues within, when they are thoroughly cleanſed by it.

S. I do not rightly underſtand what you mean by this cleanſing.

O. C. I will make that clear to you. Suppoſe any friend of yours was afflicted with ſome dangerous fit of illneſs; if he goes to ſome knowing phyſician, and takes what he preſcribes, in order to root out the cauſes of his diſeaſe, he may be reſtored to a perfect ſtate of health; but if he refuſes to take what is ordered him, his phyſician will give him up, and leave him to be deſtroyed by his diſtemper.

S. That is clear enough.

O. C.

O. C. In the very ſame manner, when any one comes to Science, ſhe takes him under her care, and gives him a draught of her cup to cleanſe him, and drive out all the noxious things that are in him.

S. And what are thoſe noxious things?

O. C. The error and ignorance that he drank out of the cup of Deceit; and his arrogance, and luſt, and intemperance, and anger, and covetouſneſs; in ſhort, all the evil impreſſions and habits that he had contracted in his paſſage through the firſt incloſure.

S. And when ſhe has cleanſed him from all theſe, whither does ſhe ſend him?

O. C. In through that portal, to Knowledge, and the other Virtues.

S. And where are they?

O. C. Do not you ſee, within the portal, a ſelect company of ladies, of ſingular beauty and decency, both in their look and dreſs; and in a word, with every thing handſome, and nothing affected about them?

S. I ſee them, and ſhould be glad to know their names.

O. C. That at the head of them is Knowledge, and the reſt are all her ſiſters, Fortitude, Juſtice, Honeſty, Prudence, Decency, Freedom, Temperance, and Clemency.

S. What beauties they are! And what a longing deſire do they inſpire one with to enjoy their companies!

O. C. That you may do, if you are wiſe enough to follow the way that I have ſhown you.

S. That will I ſtrive to do, as far as I am able.

O. C. Then you will arrive ſafely to them.

S. And when theſe have received any one, whither do they carry him?

O. C. To their mother.

S. And who is ſhe?

O. C. Happineſs.

S. And where?

O. C. Do you ſee the way which leads to that high edifice which appears above all the incloſures, as a citadel does above all the buildings in a city?

S. Yes.

O. C. And do you ſee that compoſed, beautiful lady, ſitting on a throne in the portico to it, with ſo eaſy and diſengaged an air, and with that beautiful chaplet of freſh flowers on her head?

S. How beautiful does ſhe look!

O. C. She is Happineſs.

S. And when any one arrives to her, what does ſhe do to him?

O. C. Happineſs, aſſiſted by all the Virtues, crowns him with her own influences; in the ſame manner as they are crowned, who have obtained the greateſt conqueſts.

S. But what conqueſts has he obtained?

O. C. The greateſt conqueſts, and over the moſt terrible of monſters, which formerly devoured, and tormented, and enſlaved him. All theſe has he conquered, and driven from him; and is become ſo much maſter both of himſelf and them, as to make thoſe things obey him which he himſelf obeyed before.

S. I do not yet comprehend what monſters you mean; and ſhould be very glad to know.

O. C. In the firſt place, his ignorance and error; will you not allow them to be monſters?

S. Yes, and very dangerous ones too.

O. C. Then, his ſorrows, and repinings, and covetings, and intemperance, and every thing that is bad. All theſe has he ſubdued, and is not ſubdued by them as he uſed to be.

S. O glorious exploits! and moſt noble of all victories! But be ſo good as inform me yet farther, what may be the influence of the crown, with which you were ſaying he was to be crowned?

O. C. It is that which renders him happy: For he who has it once on his head, immediately becomes eaſy and bleſt; and does not place his hopes of happineſs in any thing without him, but poſſeſſes it in his own breaſt.

S. How deſirable is ſuch an acquiſition! And after he is crowned, what does he do? or whether does he go?

O. C. The Virtues take him, and lead him to the place that he had left, and bid him obſerve thoſe who continue there; amidſt what difficulties and troubles they paſs their time; and how they are ſhipwrecked in life, or wander about in it; or are conquered, and led along like captives, ſome by Intemperance, and others by Arrogance; here by Covetouſneſs, and there by Vain-glory, or any other of the Vices; whoſe chains they are in vain ſtriving to get looſe from, that they might eſcape, and get to this place of reſt; ſo that their whole life ſeems to be nothing but one ineffectual ſtruggle. And all this they ſuffer from their miſtaking the right way, and forgetting the orders given them by the directing Genius.

S. That appears to me to be the caſe; but I do not ſo clearly ſee, why the Virtues lead the perſon that has been crowned back to the place that he had left.

O. C. Becauſe he had never formed a full and exact idea of the thing that paſſed there; but at beſt, had

only gueſſed and doubted about them; for from the draught of ignorance and error that he had taken at his entrance, he had imagined things that were bad to be good, and things that were good to be bad; by which means he had lived wretchedly, as indeed all do while they are there. But now that he has obtained the knowledge of what is really good, he can both live happily himſelf, and can ſee how very unhappy the others are.

S. And when he has taken a full view there, what does he do, or whither does he go?

O. C. Wherever he pleaſes, for every where is he as ſafe as one that is got into the Coryeian cave: ſo that whereſoever he goes, he lives in full ſecurity, and undiſturbed happineſs; and is received by all others with as much pleaſure as a good phyſician is by his patients.

S. And has no longer any dread of thoſe females which you called monſters; nor any apprehenſion of being hurt by them?

O. C. Not in the leaſt; for he will never any more be moleſted either by Anguiſh, or Sorrow, or Intemperance, or Covetouſneſs, or Poverty, or any other evil; for he is now maſter of them all, and ſuperior to every thing that formerly gave him any trouble. As they who practiſe the catching of vipers, are never hurt by the bite of thoſe creatures, which is ſo venomous, and even mortal to others, becauſe they have an antidote againſt their poiſon; ſo he is ſafe from any influence of all theſe evils, becauſe he has the antidote againſt them.

S. That you have explained to me very well; but I beg you would tell me yet farther, who they are that are deſcending from the middle of the rock, ſome of them crowned, and with an air of joy on their countenances; and others without crowns, that ſeem to have been

been rejected, and have the marks of ſeveral falls about them, and are followed by certain women.

O. C. They who are crowned, are ſuch as got ſafe to Science, and are delighted with the reception that ſhe has given them; and thoſe without crowns, who ſeem to have been rejected by her, and are returning in ſo bad a condition, are ſuch as found their hearts fail them when they came to the precipice where Patience ſtands; and turned back from that point, and are now wandering irregularly they know not whither.

S. And who are the women that are following them?

O, C. They are Sorrow, and Anguiſh, and Deſpair, and Infamy, and Ignorance.

S. By your account, they are attended by every thing that is bad!

O. C. Undoubtedly they are; but when they are got down into the firſt incloſure, to Voluptuouſneſs and Intemperance, they do not lay the blame on themſelves, but immediately ſay all the ill things they can of Science, and of thoſe who are going to her; and tell how miſerable and wretched thoſe poor people are, and how much they ſuffer, who leave the life they might have enjoyed below, and the good things beſtowed there.

S. And what are the good things which they mean?

O. C. Luxury and intemperance; to ſay all in two words; for to indulge their paſſions like brute beaſts, is what they look upon as the completion of all their happineſs.

S. And thoſe other women that are coming down there, who look ſo gay and ſo well-pleaſed with themſelves, what are they?

O. C. The Opinions, who after conducting thoſe to Science, who have gained admiſſion to the Virtues,

are returning to bring up others, and to acquaint them how happy thoſe are whom they have already conduced up thither.

S. And have they been admitted to the Virtues themſelves?

O. C. By no means; for it is not allowable for Opinion to enter where Knowledge has her dwelling. Their buſineſs, therefore, was only to conduct them to Science; and when ſhe has received them, they turn back again to bring others; like tranſport-ſhips, which as ſoon as they have delivered one freight return for another.

S. You have now, I think, very well explained all the figures in the picture; but you have not yet told us what directions they were, which the Genius at the firſt portal gives to thoſe that are entering into life.

O. C. He bids them be of good courage. Wherefore be you alſo of good courage; for I will tell you the whole, and leave no one thing unexplained to you.

S. We ſhall be extremely obliged to you.

O. C. You ſee that blind woman there, on the round ſtone, who I told you before was Fortune.

S. I ſee her.

O. C. As to that woman, he orders them not to place any confidence in her, nor to look on any of her gifts as firm or ſecure; nor to conſider them as their property; for there is no hindering her from reſuming them, and giving them to any body elſe; and it is what ſhe is extremely apt to do. He therefore orders them to regard all her preſents with indifference, and not to rejoice if ſhe makes them any, nor to be dejected if ſhe takes them away, and to think neither well nor ill of her; for whatever ſhe does is done without thought, and all by mere chance and accident, as I have acquainted you already.

already. It is on this account that the genius commands them not to attach themſelves to any thing ſhe can give; nor to be like thoſe ſimple bankers, who when they have received any ſum of money in truſt, are apt to be pleaſed with it, and look upon it as their own; and when they are called upon to repay it, grow uneaſy, and think it very hard; not conſidering that it was depoſited in their hands on that very condition, that the true owners might demand it again whenever they pleaſed. Juſt thus the Genius commands men to look upon all the gifts of Fortune: And to be aware, that ſhe may recall them whenever ſhe has a fancy to do it; or may ſend in more, and if ſhe pleaſes, may reſume that and the former altogether. He therefore commands thoſe who are entering into life, to receive whatever ſhe offers them; and as ſoon as they have received it, to go on in queſt of a more laſting acquiſition.

S. What acquiſition do you mean?

O. C. That which they may obtain from Science if they can arrive ſafe to her.

S. And what is that ſhe gives them?

O. C. The true kuowledge of what is really good, and the firm, certain, and unchangeable poſſeſſion of it. He therefore commands them to quit fortune immediately, in purſuit of this; and when they come to thoſe women, who, as I told you before, were Intemperance and Voluptuouſneſs, to leave them too directly, and not to mind whatever they can ſay; but to go on for the incloſure of Falſe Science; there he bids them ſtay a little while, to get what may be uſeful to them on the reſt of their road, and then to leave her directly too, and go on for True Science. Theſe are the orders which the Genius gives to all that enter into life; and whoever tranſgreſſes or neglects them, will

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be a miſerable wretch. I have now explained the whole of the parable contained in this painting; but if you have any particular queſtion to aſk in relation to any thing that I have ſaid, I am very ready to anſwer it.

S. We are much obliged to you. Pray then, what is it that the Genius orders them to get in the incloſure of ſcience, falſely ſo called?

O, C. Whatever may be of uſe to them.

S. And what is there that may be of uſe to them?

O. C. Literature, and ſo much of the ſciences, as Plato ſays, may ſerve people in the beginning of their lives as a bridle, to keep them from being drawn away by idler purſuits.

S. And is it neceſſary for all who would arrive at True Science to do this?

O. C. No, it is not neceſſary, but it may be uſeful; though in truth, theſe things themſelves do not contribute towards making them the better men.

S. Not contribute at all towards making them better!

O. C. Not at all; for they may be as good without them. And yet they are not wholly unuſeful; for they may ſometimes help us, as interpreters do, to the meaning of a language we do not underſtand: But after all, it is better to underſtand the language ourſelves, than to have any need of an interpreter; and we may be good without the aſſiſtance of learning.

S. In what then have the learned any advantage over others, towards becoming better men?

O. C. Why do you imagine they ſhould have any advantage, ſince you ſee they are deceived like others, as to what is good or bad; and continue to be as much involved in all manner of vices? For there is nothing that

that hinders a man, who is a maſter of literature, and knowing in all the ſciences, from being at the ſame time a drunkard, or intemperate, or covetous, or unjuſt, or villanous, or in one word, imprudent in all his ways.

S. It is true, we ſee too many inſtances of ſuch.

O. C. Of what advantage then is their learning, towards making them better men?

S. You have made it appear, that it is of none; but pray, what is the reaſon of it?

O. C. The reaſon is this: That when they are got into the ſecond incloſure, they fix there as if they were arrived at True Science. And what can they get by that? ſince we ſee ſeveral perſons, who go on directly from Intemperance, and the other Vices in the firſt incloſure, to the incloſure of True Science; without ever calling in, where theſe learned perſons have taken up their abode. How then can the learned be ſaid to have any advantage over them? On the contrary, they are leſs apt to exert themſelves, or to be inſtructed than the former.

S. How can that be?

O. C. Becauſe they who are in the ſecond incloſure, not to mention any other of their faults, at leaſt profeſs to know what they do not know; So that they acquieſce in their ignorance, and have no motive to ſtir them up towards the ſeeking of True Science. Beſides, do you not obſerve another thing; that the Opinions, from the firſt incloſure, enter in among them, and converſe with them as freely as with the former? So that they are not at all better even than they, unleſs Repentance ſhould come to them, and ſhould convince them, that it is not Science they have been embracing all this while, but only the falſe

falſe appearance of her which has deceived them. But while they continue in the ſame mind they are in, there is no hope left for them. To cloſe all, my friends, what I would intreat of you is; to think over every thing I have ſaid to you, to weigh it well in your minds, and to practiſe accordingly. Get a habit of doing right, whatever pain it coſts you; let no difficulties deter you in the way to Virtue: And account every thing elſe deſpicable, in compariſon of this. Then will the leſſon that I have taught you, prove to yourſelves a leſſon of Happineſs.

A

REVIEW OF BOOKS.

The Natural Hiſtory of Aleppo, and Parts adjacent. Containing a Deſcription of the City, and the principal natural Productions in its Neighbourhood; together with an Account of the Climate, Inhabitants, and Diſeaſes; particularly of the Plague, with the Methods uſed by the Europeans for their Preſervation. By ALEXANDER RUSSEL, *M. D.*

THE author of this work having returned from a long reſidence at Aleppo, where he practiſed phyſic, propoſed to himſelf to give an account of the epidemical diſeaſes of that place, and particularly of the plague, which he had an opportunity of obſerving for three different years; but was inſenſibly led to enlarge his plan into an account of the natural productions of the place, and the cuſtoms of the inhabitants. He makes no magnificent profeſſions, and has performed as much as he promiſed. His accounts have all the appearance of truth, and his ſtyle, though it has been cenſured, is not more vitious than that of many writers who have had better opportunities of cultivating our lan-

language. There are indeed parts which I wiſh extended, and parts of which I ſhould be well pleaſed with the contraction: but every man has his particular views and ſtudies, and writes for minds congenial to his own.

Aleppo, in the language of the natives Haleb, is the metropolis of Syria. Its latitude is 36. 12. N.; its longitude is generally ſuppoſed 37. 40. E. from London. The city with the ſuburbs is about ſeven miles in circumference. It is well built; but the houſes have no windows towards the ſtreet, which gives the place an unpleaſing appearance to European eyes.

The ſituation of Aleppo ſeems to have been determined by the courſe of a ſmall ſtream called *Coic*, which waters the gardens, water being ſo ſcarce in Syria that there is only one river, the Orontes, and the inhabitants of moſt places are ſupplied by rain which they ſave in ciſterns.

The country round it produces great variety of plants, both eſculent and phyſical, but is very naked of trees; many of the plants our author has enumerated, and of ſome not yet mentioned by the botaniſts he has given deſcriptions, and very elegant plates. He has been no leſs attentive to the animals, and has procured ſeveral birds and fiſhes not known in this part of the world, to be very beautifully, and I ſuppoſe very exactly, engraved. But of things ſo much diſcriminated by their colours as birds and flowers, mere gradations of blackneſs give but a very imperfect repreſentation.

Of the ſheep with the great tail mention is ſo commonly made, that many will be glad to know what is ſaid of them by a man that has ſo often ſeen them. They are the moſt numerous of the two ſpecies about

Aleppo, and thoſe of the largeſt ſort fatted for the table will weigh when they are killed, flayed, and opened, about 150 pounds, of which the tail makes 50. The ſkin of the under part of the tail is ſo bare and thin, that the ſhepherds fix a light board under it to ſave it from injuries, and to this board they ſometimes fix wheels; ſo that it is not merely fabulous to ſay that the ſheep draw their own tails in carts, except that the cart is not to eaſe them of the burden, but to ſave them from hurt. The author does not tell us how they ſleep, or whether their tails are diſengaged at night.

The principal beaſt of burden is the camel; of which the ſpecies are four; the Turkman camel, the Arab, the dromedary, and the camel with two bunches. The Turkman camel is the largeſt; his common load is 800 pounds, but he cannot bear heat, and therefore lies ſtill in the ſummer months.

The Arab being ſmaller carries about 500 pounds. He can endure heat, and ſcarcely needs any ſuſtenance but the thiſtles which he crops as he goes along loaded. They have been known to travel 15 days without water, but then drank ſo eagerly that many died.

The dromedary ſeems the moſt elegant ſort of the Arab camel, and perhaps differs from him only as a race-horſe from a cart-horſe. The camel with two bunches is bred in Perſia, and is only ſeen at Aleppo in the caravans. He differs only from the Arab in having two bunches.

Of aſſes they have two ſorts; one ſmall, like ours, the the other much larger, with ears remarkably long; which is, I ſuppoſe, the aſs on which the Orientals are ſo often mentioned as riding.

There are hyenas in the hills, of which our author had

had the opportunity of examining one that was killed. It was ſomewhat bigger than a maſtiff; its colour was gray tranſverſely ſtreaked with black; it had a long white mane down the neck and back. That it changes its ſex annually, or that it can imitate the human voice, there is no reaſon to believe; but it preys upon the flocks, and is ſtill ſuppoſed to rob graves.

They have many ſerpents extremely venomous, but as the fields are naked they are eaſily avoided. The ſcolopendra and ſcorpion are often felt, but all the conſequence is the pain of a few hours.

The inhabitants of Aleppo are, by a computation not very exact, reckoned to be 235,000, of whom 200,000 are Turks, 30,000 Chriſtians, and 5000 Jews. Of the Chriſtians the greater number are Greeks, then Armenians, then Syrians, and laſtly Maronites, who each have a church. The general language is the vulgar Arabic.

Between theſe ſeveral ſorts of people there is no great difference. They are generally of a middle ſtature, not vigorous or active. The women are not unhandſome, but as they are married about 14, they grow old at 30. Their labours are remarkably eaſy, the more robuſt riſe to work the next day, and the moſt delicate ſeldom are confined above 12 days.

The people, even the Mahometans, are not uncivil; and though, as in many other places, the greater number cannot be much commended, yet there are not wanting honeſt men of every religion.

The uſual treat given to a viſitant is a diſh of coffee, without milk or ſugar, with a pipe of tobacco, and a little ſweetmeat; and when they would expreſs great reſpect they offer ſherbet, ſprinkle perfumed water, and burn aloes wood; after which it is expected that the

the ſtranger ſhould depart. They uſe tobacco much, but the polite and wealthy ſmoke by the nargeery, which is an inſtrument that cools the ſmoke, by making it paſs through the water, along a pipe, I ſuppoſe, like the worm of a ſtill. Opium is not taken by theſe or any other Turks in the exceſs imputed to them, thoſe who uſe it being conſidered as debauched perſons, and called *teriaky*, from *theriaca*, an opiate compoſition. Theſe men ſoon wither, loſe their memories, and die early with all the ſymptoms of old age.

Their bagnios are well contrived both for uſe and privacy, and are much frequented by the women, to whoſe uſe moſt bagnios are appropriated in the afternoon; and who enjoying here almoſt all the liberty of converſation that is allowed them, form themſelves into little parties, and drink coffee together.

They uſe little exerciſe. When they remove, the men ride on horſeback; and the women of wealth, if the diſtance be too far for walking, are carried in a litter.

They go to bed ſoon and riſe early; their beds, which conſiſt only of a matraſs and a coverlet, are made in the ſummer on the top of the houſe, which is always flat, in the open air, or on the ground in the yard. In the winter they ſleep in the loweſt roofed room on the ground-floor. The people of higher condition are lulled to reſt by muſic, or by a wild ſtory which the women are taught, and of which not being accuſtomed to have their minds feaſted with much variety of images, they are, I ſuppoſe, able to bear the repetition a thouſand times.

When they are at home, they amuſe themſelves with cheſs, or ſome other game of a ſedentary kind; but when they aſſemble to be merry in larger bodies, they

have always buffoons to divert them; *without whom*, ſays the author, *their mirth and converſation would ſoon languiſh or conclude.*

The Mahometans are extremely illiterate; many baſhaws and farmers of the cuſtoms cannot read. Only one of the inhabitants of Aleppo had aſtronomy enough to calculate an eclipſe. They have many ſchools or colleges in the city, but there is little taught in them. Phyſic is in great eſteem among them, and its profeſſors by conſequence are numerous; but they are almoſt all foreigners, there being no means by which the natives can acquire any medical knowledge in a country where no phyſic is publicly taught, nor any anatomy ever practiſed. Like other ignorant medicaſters, they conſider more the paſſions of the patient than his diſeaſe, uſe a great pomp of medicines when there is no danger, and as he approaches the grave withdraw from him. Here, as in other places, folly and cenſure make the taſk of the phyſician more difficult, the laſt medicine being always ſuppoſed to have deſtroyed him who dies of a diſtemper.

As dreſs is not eaſily deſcribed by words, the clothes of the people of Aleppo are repreſented by plates.

The Turks are commended for their temperance by European writers beyond their merit. They eat three ſet meals a-day, and are often regaling themſelves with fruit between them. They uſe no knife or fork at table. Their liquor at dinner is water, and coffee after it.

In the month of Ramadan, or ſtated ſeaſon of abſtinence, they faſt from the dawn to ſunſet; but thoſe who are rich enough to ſleep in the day eat all night, and live ſo luxurioufly as to ſpend twice as much in that month as in any other, but this month is to the poor a time of real mortification.

Though

Though wine is forbidden them, the number of thoſe who drink it is very conſiderable, but it is done with privacy.

They are obliged to waſh before every time of prayer, which are five in a day; and cuſtom and cleanlineſs oblige them to waſh at ſo many other times, that much of the day is ſpent in the uſe of water.

They conſider themſelves as allowed four wives, and an unlimited number of concubines; but few have more than two, and poor men ſcarcely ever more than one. Yet the author has known 40 kept by ſome of the wealthy. This multitude of rivals ſometimes gives the maſter diſturbance; but being trained up in ſervile obedience, they commonly live well together. They may divorce their wives at pleaſure; but then they loſe the ſum which they gave for them, and commonly pay by contract another ſum equal to the firſt.

When a woman has a ſon marriageable, ſhe takes an opportunity of ſeeing the young women of the place; and when ſhe has made her choice, applies to the girl's mother, who takes care to make inquiry into the character of the young man; whoſe father, if no objection ariſes, demands the maid of her parents: the price to be paid for her is fixed, and a licence obtained from the kade. Proxies are then appointed; whoſe hands, after a few queſtions, are joined by the imaum; the money is paid, and the bridegroom may now call for his bride. The money paid for her is with ſome addition laid out in ornaments and furniture, which are ſent to his houſe. He then invites all his friends, and entertains them three days before the wedding with great plenty. His female relations then go to fetch the bride, who comes with the mother and kinſwomen, and the men and women feaſt that day in ſeparate apartments. At

night, upon notice given to the women, the bridegroom is introduced into the court-yard of the womens apartment, where his own kinſwomen meet him, and ſing and dance before him to the ſtair-foot of the bride's chamber, who receives him veiled at the middle of the ſtairs.

Of their ſlaves, ſome are negroes from Ethiopia, but far the greater are Georgians, or captives of war. They are generally well treated.

The women are ſuffered to go abroad very little, except that they muſt uſe the bagnio; and on Mondays and Thurſdays they have a kind of religious cuſtom of viſiting the tombs of their relations: this they have ſo far improved, that almoſt every Thurſday is allotted to a particular ſaint, whoſe tomb is to be viſited on that day. They always go in companies, and are guarded by a boy and an old woman.

The Harum, or womens apartment, is guarded in rich houſes by a black eunuch. The Turks think it too diſgraceful to treat their women with much regard, and therefore leave them to the management of their guardians.

When a Turk dies, the women begin to ſhriek, and continue their clamorous lamentations till the body is buried. They immediately waſh the corps, ſtop all its natural paſſages with cotton, and wrap it up in a cotton cloth, then lay it in a coffin; at the head is erected a ſhort ſtaff, on which a head-dreſs is placed, ſhowing the ſex of the deceaſed: The bier is carried in their turns by almoſt all that happen to be preſent. The male-relations follow it firſt, and then the females, who ſhriek all the way to the moſque, where the imaum ſays a ſervice.

The graves lie eaſt and weſt: they lay the head to the

the weſt, turning the body to the right ſide, that the face may look ſouthward towards Mecca. The grave is covered below the ſurface with flat ſtones to keep the earth from falling in upon the body; and the laſt words are uſed to the deceaſed, which are very ſolemn: *O man, from the earth thou wert firſt created, and to the earth thou doſt now return; this grave being the firſt ſtep of thy progreſs to the manſions of the other world. If in thy actions thou haſt been benevolent, thou art abſolved by God; but if, on the contrary, thou haſt not been ſo, the mercy of God is greater than all things.*

The neareſt relations go to the grave on the third, ſeventh, and fortieth days; and that day twelve months, after their friend's deceaſe, the women dreſs the tomb with flowers and greens every Monday and Thurſday.

The men wear no mourning, but the women put on their graveſt clothes, and for a huſband lay aſide their jewels twelve months, and ſix months for a father. At leaſt before a widow marries again, ſhe muſt mourn 40 days for her huſband without going out of the houſe, or ſpeaking unneceſſarily even to her neareſt relations. Theſe days are choſen in any part of the firſt year.

The Mahometans obſerve their hours of prayer very ſtrictly, give alms to the poor, and entertain ſtrangers; but are ſo little attentive to all other duties, that the muftee of Aleppo deſired the author in repreſenting their religion at home, to conſider it as directly oppoſite to their practice.

Their baſhaws are not now choſen out of their ſlaves, but commonly purchaſe their places, and repay themſelves by extortion. The kadees, or judges, are much influenced by money, and witneſſes may be always

hired. The kadee, however, will commonly decide right for leſs than he will expect for deciding wrong. They diſpatch the affair ſoon; and the coſt of ten in the hundred upon the ſum litigated is paid by him who carries the cauſe, however unjuſt the demand may appear on the ſide of his opponent.

It is not true, that a man after his pilgrimage to Mecca is exempt from capital puniſhment, for many of the pilgrims are hanged in the way as they return.

The Chriſtians of this country obſerve many days of abſtinence; and ſome will not break their faſt though their lives are endangered. Their women are as cloſely veiled, and as much confined, as with the Turks, and are commonly contracted by their parents while they were children. The Maronites, from whom the other Chriſtians differ but little, perform the nuptial ceremony in this manner.

The bride is demanded of her father, to whoſe houſe the bridegroom's relations are then invited to conſult about the wedding-day. On the day fixed, which is commonly that day fortnight, they ſup again at the bride's houſe, then return to that of the bridegroom, whom cuſtom requires to hide himſelf; he is at laſt found undreſſed in ſome obſcure corner, and then is led with the brideſman round the court in triumph to a room where the wedding clothes are laid out. A prieſt ſays a long prayer over them; the bridegroom is dreſſed, and they are with great noiſe led round the yard again.

After midnight, all the company invited to the wedding return to the bride's houſe, each carrying a candle, and muſic playing before them; they knock at the door, and demand the bride, who is always refuſed, and

to be gained by ſtorm, in which the friends of the bridegroom are never repulſed.

In countries where wine is more liberally drank, theſe fights would ſometimes end in miſchief.

The bride is then brought out covered with a veil all over, and led to the bridegroom's, accompanied by a ſiſter or a near female relation. She is ſet down at the upper end of the womens room, where ſhe is to ſit veiled with her eyes ſhut, ſilent, and motionleſs, except that ſhe riſes to all that come in, as their entrance is notified to her by an attendant. The reſt of the night is ſpent in their ſeparate apartments with great noiſe and merriment.

Nex day the biſhop or a prieſt comes to conclude the ceremony. The women are all veiled, the bride is quite covered, and ſtands ſupported by two women. The bridegroom gorgeouſly dreſſed enters with the biſhop, and with the brideman is placed at the lady's left hand. The biſhop, after a ſhort ſervice, puts a crown upon the head, firſt of the bridegroom then of the bride, and afterwards of the brideman and bridemaid; then joins their hands, puts a ring on the bridegroom's finger, and delivers another to the bridemaid to be put on that of the bride; and near the concluſion ties a ribband about the bridegroom's neck, which a prieſt comes to take off in the afternoon. They then return into the mens apartment, where dinner is prepared for the biſhop, in whoſe preſence all behave with great gravity; but he ſoon leaves them, and the feaſt begins with noiſe and revelry, muſic, and buffoonery.

At night the bridegroom is led to the bride's chamber, where he preſents her with a glaſs of wine, and they drink to each other; he then goes back, and is

obliged to endure the noiſe and riot of the company till the afternoon of the next day. He is then left to a few ſelect friends, and at midnight is ſuffered to go to his wife. Preſents are ſent by all the company. The bride receives flowers from all the women of her acquaintance, and ſeven days after her relations viſit her. The bride never ſpeaks for the firſt month, except a very little to her huſband, and is particularly leſſoned by the old matrons not to talk to him too ſoon.

The women commonly wait on their huſbands at table; they never appear unveiled before men, and are rarely permitted to leave the houſe.

The author, after this account of the inhabitants of Aleppo, ſubjoins a view of their diſeaſes, in which there is nothing very obſervable; and a kind of journal which from many pages exhibits no very entertaining narrative of heat and cold, rain and ſunſhine. But the remarks with which he concludes his book, on the plague, and the *mal d'Aleppo*, or *Aleppo diſeaſe*, deſerves particular regard.

The plague, which is never ſo violent there as in Europe, is expected upon long experience once in about ten years. It is moderate in the winter, gathers ſtrength with the increaſing heat, is at its height in June, and in Auguſt certainly ceaſes. To have had it once is no ſecurity againſt the infection.

The ſymptoms of the plague are different in different bodies; but it generally began with a chilneſs and vomiting, pain in the loins or back, intenſe headach, giddineſs, and loſs of ſtrength, with a great uneaſineſs at the pit of the ſtomach, and ſhooting pains about the jaws, groin, and arm-pits.

A violent fever followed, in which the body was

ſcorched inwardly, though no uncommon heat was diſcovered on the ſkin. The heat was ſometimes univerſal; ſometimes it affected particular parts, and had many exacerbations and remiſſions in a day. The face as the heat increaſed firſt glowed, then grew livid, then pale. The eyes were cloudy, and the whole countenance inexpreſſibly confuſed. The pulſe was at firſt little altered, but ſoon grew quick, and afterwards often changed without any viſible concurrence with other ſymptoms. In the parts where ſhooting pains were felt, a hard tumour might be diſcovered deep in the fleſh, without any diſcoloration of the ſkin; theſe tumours ripened into buboes.

The danger could not be eſtimated from the firſt ſymptoms; for ſometimes the moſt violent fever would ceaſe in a few hours, and leave nothing behind it but weakneſs, and the pain of the increaſing buboes, which are ſometimes 15 days before their ſuppuration, but never confine the patient.

Several died at the firſt ſeizure; and of thoſe the arm-pits and groins turned black, and the whole body was covered with petechial ſtains and livid puſtules.

The greater part, however, ſurvived the firſt attack, and had theſe ſymptoms more violent in the evening; their heat increaſed, their tongue faltered, and their ſenſes were impaired. Towards morning the heat abated, the delirium ceaſed, and their great complaint was of the pain in their heads, and that of their buboes. About half of them had on ſome part or other of their bodies a carbuncle or painful puſtule, encompaſſed with a circle of deep ſcarlet, which ſoon grew livid, with intenſe burning pain. This puſtule

increaſed

increaſed to an inch and a half, and ſometimes more in diameter.

The ſecond day paſſed in frequent remiſſions and exacerbations; every paroxyſm became more and more violent, till in the evening a coma or morbid ſlumber came on, and the pulſe became too low and quick to be counted; the buboes ſubſided, and the circle of the carbuncle turned black.

In this ſtate on the third day many died, and others were relieved from it by a critical ſweat; which ſome did not obtain till the fifth day, ſome not till the ſeventh, and a very few not till the eleventh day.

A copious ſweat on the third day was always ſalutary, yet did not perhaps wholly diſcharge the diſeaſe, but left ſome remains to be carried off by another ſweat on the fifth day; after which the patient was only troubled with his buboes and carbuncles. The buboes often reſolved without any ſuppuration even in thoſe that recovered.

During the courſe of the diſeaſe, in ſome the tongue was moiſt, in others black and furred; ſome had an unquenchable thirſt at irregular intervals, others refuſed liquors. Some were lax, others coſtive, but moſt had the natural evacuation; the urine was uncertain, but commonly yellowiſh, and without ſediment. A few had hæmorrhagies, which, otherwiſe than in other peſtilential caſes, were commonly forerunners of a critical ſweat.

Other years produced ſome ſmall diverſity of ſymptoms, but not ſuch as altered the general indications, or influenced the method of cure, which the author propoſes with great modeſty, having obſerved, that the natives have gained no knowledge by the frequency of

this diſtemper. Of ſo ſmall importance is experience, where there is no power of rational deduction.

At the beginning of the diſeaſe phlebotomy was uſeful, but afterwards miſchievous. A vomit with warm water, or a very gentle emetic, was likewiſe very helpful on the firſt day. Strong purges were hurtful, but gentle laxatives relieved the head, and a ſtrong cathartic after the critical ſweet promoted, by whatever means, the ſuppuration of the buboes.

The natural criſis of the diſeaſe being always by ſweat, it was natural to try ſudorifics; but they were dangerous on the firſt day, becauſe they had not the effect intended; they inflamed the malady. The author ſeems to have tried only the gentle diaphoretics, and recommends rad. contrayerva, and valer. ſilveſtris, in which, I ſuppoſe, nobody will much confide; and indeed he has little acquaintance with phyſic, who does not know the uncertainty of that man's ſtate, whoſe recovery depends on the excitement of a ſweat by internal medicines.

The bark he was not ſuffered to try, and the Virginian ſnakeroot was too bitter to be taken by them, whoſe diſtaſte was not much balanced by their hope in phyſic. Nitre was of no uſe.

The method of cure practiſed by our author was this. At the firſt ſeizure he drew from ten to twenty ounces of blood from the arm, but ſeldom more than twelve ounces. He then vomited the patients with warm water or a weak emetic, and then gave a weak opiate. He then exhibited diaphoretics every four hours, with as large draughts of diluting liquors as they could be perſuaded to drink. In the winter a fire was made in the chamber; in the ſummer the freſh air was admitted.

ted. When they were faint they drank a cordial julap ſweetened with ſyrup of white poppies.

This regimen commonly produced a ſweat on the ſecond or third day, after which a mild cathartic was given; the other medicines were continued, and an anodyne was ordered in the evening.

When the buboes ſubſided, they were quickened by a bliſter. When a lethargy came on, a bliſter was applied to the head, or a cataplaſm of garlic to the feet with great advantage. The buboes were ſuppurated by a warm plaſter; the carbuncles always mortified but ſoon ſeparated, and the digeſtion afterwards was very quick.

As it is more eaſy to ſhun the plague than to cure it, it is not uſeleſs to mention the precautions taken by foreigners at Aleppo againſt infection, which are more worthy of notice as they are commonly ſucceſsful.

The Engliſh uſed formerly to retire into the country, and encamp in the mountains while the infection continued, but now they ſtay in the city; and in the winter months, while the diſeaſe advances ſlowly, content themſelves to converſe as little as is poſſible with the natives, and to confine their ſervants as much as they can. When this diſeaſe begins to rage they form parties, ſhut themſelves up in the moſt airy and commodious houſes, and keep their doors faſt from April to July. They take care to have in the houſe one that can ſhave, and to confine their cats; if a ſtrange cat intrudes, they ſhoot him, and throw him out with the tongs. They receive their victuals at a window by a rope, to the lower end of which hangs a chain, and a pail of iron; their proviſions are taken out of the pail with a pair of tongs; the fleſh is dipped in water mixed with vinegar, and hung up for ſome time; the bread is well aired,

and

and the letters are ſmoked with ſulphur. After the doors are opened, the ſame precautions are uſed for ſome weeks as before they were ſhut.

For thoſe who are obliged to converſe with the ſick, the author gives ſome rules, with no great confidence, as rather uſeful than certain. He directs, never to go out faſting, to avoid all exceſs, paſſions, and evacuations more than are uſual, yet not to eat or drink below the uſual rate; but rather to fortify the conſtitution by a generous glaſs. In this he has the concurrence of Dr Willis. In any immediate danger, not to ſwallow the ſpittle, and to breathe through a ſponge wet with an infuſion of rue in vinegar, or vinegar alone, which is probably as good, the virtues of rue to reſiſt infection being, I fear, imaginary. To hold the breath near the ſick, and as ſoon as is poſſible to waſh the mouth, face, and hands with vinegar. To change the clothes ſoon, and again to uſe a waſh of vinegar. The only preſervative medicine uſed was the bark.

Of the diſeaſe of Aleppo, called by the natives the *botch of a year*, the ſpecies are commonly reckoned two, but the author imagines them to be three.

The male-diſeaſe is a ſmall red tubercle about as big as a pin's head, which in time ſpreads to the breadth of a ſixpence, forms a ſcurf and a ſcab, which in about eight months falls off, and leaves a ſmall mark.

The female gives ſome pain, increaſes to twice the compaſs of the male, and becomes a ſhallow ulcer, with a livid circle on the outſide; it is commonly well in a year, but leaves a ſcar which continues through life.

The third ſort, which the natives call a ſting of a *millepede*, never grows large or gives pain.

This

This diſeaſe none of the natives eſcape, and moſt foreigners have it in a few months after their arrival; other animals are ſubject to it.

The female only requires any cure; and in this the author found nothing ſo efficacious as the mercurial plaſter.

The Memoirs of the Duke de Sully, &c. Tranſlated from the French by Mrs LENNOX.

THIS tranſlation has been already ſo well received by the public that we can add little to its reputation by the addition of our ſuffrage in its favour. But as the copies are about to be multiplied by a cheaper edition, it is not yet too late to remark, that thoſe memoirs contain an account of that time in which France firſt began to aſſume her ſuperiority in Europe; that they exhibit a nation torn with factions, and plundered by tax-gatherers, reſcued by a great king and an honeſt miniſter. There can be no age or people to which ſuch a hiſtory may not be uſeful and pleaſing; but it muſt more particularly invite the attention of thoſe who like us are now labouring with the ſame diſtreſſes, and whoſe duty it is to endeavour at the ſame relief.

But we live in an age where even profit is recommended in vain if it be not aſſociated with pleaſure: we therefore ſhould ſcarcely ſolicit for this book the notice of the public, unleſs we could declare that it has the variety of romance with the truth of hiſtory; and that the

the ſtyle of the tranſlation is eaſy, ſpritely, and elegant, equally remote from the turgid and the mean.

It is difficult from a narrative well connected to detach a ſpecimen. The following incident is ſelected only becauſe it may be underſtood alone, and requires little room, not becauſe it is otherwiſe preferable to other paſſages.

The manner in which Feſcamp was ſurpriſed is ſo remarkable, that it well deſerves a particular recital here. When this fort was taken by Biron from the league, in the garriſon that was turned out of it, there was a gentleman called *Bois-roſé*, a man of ſenſe and courage, who making an exact obſervation of the place, and having concerted his ſcheme, contrived to get two ſoldiers, whom he had bound to his intereſt, to be received into the new garriſon which was put into Feſcamp by the royaliſts. That ſide of the fort next the ſea, is a perpendicular rock ſix hundred feet high, the bottom of which, for about the height of twelve feet, is continually waſhed by the ſea, except four or five days in the year during the utmoſt receſs of the ſea, when for the ſpace of three or four hours it leaves fifteen or twenty fathom of dry ſand at the foot of the rock. Bois-roſé, who found it impoſſible by any other way to ſurpriſe a garriſon who guarded with great care a place lately taken, did not doubt of accompliſhing his deſign, if he could enter by that ſide, which was thought inacceſſible; this he endeavoured by the following contrivance to perform.

He had agreed upon a ſignal with the two ſoldiers, whom he had corrupted; and one of them waited continually upon the top of the rock, where he poſted himſelf during the whole time that it was low water. Bois-roſé taking the opportunity of a very dark night, came with

with fifty reſolute men, choſen from amongſt the ſoldiers, in two large boats, to the foot of the rock. He had provided himſelf with a thick cable, equal in length to the height of the rock, and tying notes at equal diſtances, run ſhort ſticks through, to ſerve to ſupport them as they climbed. The ſoldier whom he had gained, having waited ſix months for the ſignal, no ſooner perceived it, than he let down a cord from the top of the precipice, to which thoſe below faſtened the cable, by which means it was wound up to the top, and made faſt to an opening in the battlement with a ſtrong crow, run through an iron-ſtaple made for that purpoſe. Bois-roſé giving the lead to the two ſerjeants, whoſe courage he was well convinced of, ordered the fifty ſoldiers to mount the ladder in the ſame manner, one after another, with their weapons tied round their bodies, himſelf bringing up the rear, to take away all hope of returning; which indeed ſoon became impoſſible; for before they had aſcended half-way, the ſea riſing more than ſix feet, carried off their boats, and ſet their cable a floating. The neceſſity of withdrawing from a difficult enterpriſe is not always a ſecurity againſt fear, when the danger appears almoſt inevitable. If the mind repreſents to itſelf theſe fifty men, ſuſpended between heaven and earth, in the midſt of darkneſs; truſting their ſafety to a machine ſo unſecure, that the leaſt want of caution, the treachery of a mercenary ſoldier, or the ſlighteſt fear, might precipitate them into the abyſs of the ſea, or daſh them againſt the rocks; add to this, the noiſe of the waves, the height of the rock, their wearineſs and exhauſted ſpirits; it will not appear ſurpriſing, that the boldeſt amongſt them trembled, as in effect, he who was foremoſt did. This ſerjeant telling the next man, that he could

could mount no higher, and that his heart failed him, Bois-roſé, to whom this diſcourſe paſſed from mouth to mouth, and who perceived the truth of it by their advancing no higher, crept over the bodies of thoſe that were before him, adviſing each to keep firm, and got up to the foremoſt, whoſe ſpirits he at firſt endeavoured to animate; but finding that gentleneſs would not prevail, he obliged him to mount by pricking him in the back with his poinard; and doubtleſs, if he had not obeyed him, he would have precipitated him into the ſea. At length, with incredible labour and fatigue, the whole troop got to the top of the rock, a little before the break of day, and was introduced by the two ſoldiers into the caſtle, where they began to ſlaughter without mercy the centinels and the whole guard; ſleep delivered them up an eaſy prey to the enemy, who killed all that reſiſted, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort.

An Eſſay on Waters; in three Parts: treating of Simple Waters, of cold Medicated Waters, of Natural Baths. By C. Lucas, M. D.

THE author of this book is a man well known to the world for his daring defiance of power when he thought it exerted on the ſide of wrong; the popularity which he obtained; and the violence to which the Iriſh miniſters had recourſe, that they might ſet themſelves free from an opponent ſo reſtleſs by his principles, ſo powerful by his conduct, and ſo ſpecious by his cauſe. They drove him from his native country by

a proclamation; in which they charged him with crimes of which they never intended to be called to the proof; and oppreſſed him by methods equally irreſiſtible by guilt and innocence.

Let the man thus driven into exile for having been the friend of his country, be received in every other place as a confeſſor of liberty; and let the tools of power be taught in time that they may rob but cannot impoveriſh.

In the book which we are now to examine, is treated one of the moſt important and general of all phyſical ſubjects, the nature and properties of a body juſtly numbered among the elements, without which neither animal nor vegetable life can ſubſiſt.

This ſubject our author has examined with great diligence, not only by conſulting writers, but by numerous and careful experiments, which he has tried upon more mineral ſprings than perhaps any ſingle man had ever examined.

But ſomething is always to be wiſhed otherwiſe than it is. This author has been induced, by an affected fondneſs for analogy and derivation, to diſfigure his pages with new modes of ſpelling, which indeed gives his book a forbidding aſpect, and may diſpoſe many to conclude too haſtily, that he has very little ſkill in queſtions of importance, who has ſo much leiſure to laviſh upon trifles.

Every book, I ſuppoſe, is written to be read: the orthographical innovator very little conſults his own intereſt, for I know few faults ſo likely to drive off the reader as perpetual and glaring affectation.

He that ſtudies ſingularity, ſhould at leaſt compenſate that diſguſt which his diſapprobation of cuſtom naturally produces in all who follow it, by taking a bet-

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ter way than that which he leaves: he that deſpiſes the countenance of example ſhould ſupply its place by the power of truth. But Dr Lucas's changes are ſometimes wrong upon his own principles, as when he writes *ſoveregne* and *arteficial;* and ſometimes contrary to the laws of analogous derivation, as when he makes *loſſed* the preterite of *loſe.*

Theſe faults do not leſſen the uſefulneſs of his book, though they may diminiſh the pleaſure of peruſing it.

After a general account of ſalts, acid, alkaline, and neutral, he comes to his main ſubject; and gives the following definition of water.

"I ſhall not, in this place, treat of water as a mere element, or of one of the phyſical principles or conſtituent parts of other bodies; I ſhall chiefly conſider it as it occurs to our ſenſes, and examine its natural appearances and principal properties, qualities, and uſes. And, for better diſtinction, I define it,

"An humid, fluid, pellucid, colourleſs, inodorous, inſipid body; lighter than earths; heavier than air, moſt * oils and burning ſpirits, incompreſſible, uninflammable, but, by heat, capable of great rarefaction and extreme expanſion, with remarkable elaſticity; and by cold, ſubject to conſolidation in congelation or freezing. Its conſtituent parts are very heterogene; for with the ſubtile elementary fluid, pure water, all the other elements, in various forms, as different earths, ſalts, ſulphureous, or inflammable bodies, and air, in greater or ſmaller proportions, and more laxly or intimately blended, are always combined.

* "There are ſeveral oils ſpecifically heavier than common water; as the epireumatic oils of guaiacum, box, &c. and even the eſſential oils of cloves, cinnamon, ſaſſafras, &c."

"Though, according to this definition, there be but one kind of water; yet, for greater clearneſs and certainty, we diſtinguiſh it into ſeveral kinds, from the different matters that appear to predominate in the fluid.

"Hitherto there has not been diſcovered, in nature or by art, a water perfectly pure, truly elementary. Yet notwithſtanding, as we are forced to judge of things in general relatively or comparatively, ſo do we judge and ſpeak of waters: ſuch then as are found to exhibit nothing ſenſible to the ſmell or taſte, and are by all agreed to be clear, colourleſs, inodorous, and inſipid, are, by common conſent, called pure or ſweet waters; whilſt ſuch as ſtrike the ſenſes with ſomething remarkable in colour, ſmell, or taſte, are called mineral or medicinal waters."

He confirms every part of his definition by experiments. One of which, quoted from Muſſchenbroek, will to many of our readers appear remarkable. "Take (ſays he) two glaſs-phials of equal ſize and ſtrength, fill one with gunpowder, and put one drop of water into the other; ſtop them, and ſet them on the fire: that in which the water is put will burſt with far the greater noiſe and force; which ſhows that *the power of rarefied water is greater than that of inflamed gunpowder.*"

I mean not to deny the poſition inferred, but do not think that it follows from the experiment. To diſcuſs it fully would require more time than I am willing to beſtow upon it. The power of theſe two bodies muſt be proportionate to the ſpace to which they can be expanded, which this experiment does not meaſure, nor indeed does it ſhow the force of either body. The phial filled with gunpowder was burſt by a ſingle particle, the reſt was not fired at all, or fired when air had been admitted by the diſruption of the glaſs. That water

ſhould

ſhould burſt the glaſs with more force than the powder I cannot conceive, for the glaſs was burſt in either caſe at the moment that more power was put in act than the glaſs could ſuſtain. So uſeleſs are theſe trials, which an * elegant writer has lately degraded to their proper rank by the name of *bruta experientia*, unleſs theory brings her light to direct their application.

But we ſhall paſs from theſe ſpeculations to things of daily uſe. We are taught in the following paragraph to try and ſelect water for the purpoſes of life.

" Nature early teaches us to diſtinguiſh waters by the common teſt of our ſenſes: 1. We look upon no water to be pure or ſimple, that does not upon ſight appear pellucid, or clear, and colourleſs; and the more clear and colourleſs it is, the better we juſtly pronounce it. Such water upon ſtanding lets fall no ſediment. 2. No water can be thought pure but ſuch as is perfectly inodorous. 3. No water can be pure, that is not quite inſipid; though ſome inſipid waters are far from pure: moſt terrene or petrefying waters are taſteleſs. 4. The pureſt water makes the greateſt noiſe, when poured out of one veſſel into another. 5. The pureſt water wets ſooneſt and moſt, and feels ſofteſt to the touch. But though theſe be the firſt trials to be made on water, as the ſenſes differ in moſt men, we are not to truſt ſolely to them; they only ſerve to guide us to the proper and concluſive trials.

Various artificers and ruſtics have certain teſts, by which they prove waters fit or unfit for their ſeveral purpoſes. They commonly diſtinguiſh them into hard and ſoft waters. The hard waters are ſuch as are charged with ſome terrene or ſtony or metallic matter; ſuch as the waters of ſome ſprings and moſt wells or pumps; the ſoft are rain, ſnow, ſome ſprings, moſt ri-

* Laurentius de Hydrope.

vers, lakes, and ponds. The hard are unfit for the watering of plants; whereas the light and ſoft fertilize the earth, promote vegetation, and nouriſh all vegetables. Wherefore, prudent gardeners, in defect of rain or ſoft river water, expoſe their hard waters ſome time to the air and ſun, in order to ſoften them, by promoting a ſeparation of thoſe terrene or other matters, which rendered them hard. Theſe hard waters are unfit for waſhing or bleaching, brewing, baking, or boiling of food, whether animal or vegetable; being already ſo charged and clogged with terrene and other foreign matters, that they cannot penetrate, and reſolve the connection of, other bodies, till they be firſt freed from the extraneous impurity. Wherefore, waſhers, bleachers, brewers, bakers, cooks. &c. chooſe the ſofteſt waters for their purpoſes. They firſt commonly know how to ſoften hard, when they cannot get ſoft water: for this purpoſe, they infuſe the aſhes of burned vegetables in their water, whoſe alkaline ſalt diſſolves therein; by which the acid in the water is ſaturated, which cauſes a ſpeedy ſeparation and precipitation of the terrene parts; which being by the acid ſuſpended in the water, obſtructed its union with ſoap, and rendered it, as it is called, hard."

Dr Lucas then proceeds to ſhow the different uſes of different waters, which daily experience has taught almoſt all mankind to chooſe on common occaſions, and which we are often incommoded by not diſtinguiſhing for uſes that leſs frequently occur.

"Hard waters are the beſt for builders and plaſterers; as they coincide with the intention of giving firmneſs and ſtability to the mortar, by adding more of a ſimilar ſubſtance extremely fine. For want of a due regard to this, we ſee many walls but ill cemented, and plaſter crumbling and mouldering, which made with hard

hard water, would be as firm and durable as ſtone. We have not a more common complaint, than the dampneſs of the walls of our houſes, thoſe built in great cities more eſpecially, where they are ſo negligent or ignorant of this caution, that we frequently ſee them take the waters of ſhowers, and the common canals in the ſtreets, charged with ordure and other materials fit for generating nitre, and build walls with them, which never do, nor can thoroughly dry. This I take to be one of the cauſes of fires being ſo eaſily communicated from one houſe to another in our capital.

" For all the other purpoſes of life, whether for dilution or nutrition, for the boiling our foods of all kinds, eſpecially for the reſolving of horns or bones of animals; for brewing or infuſing of any vegetables; for baking the lighteſt fermented bread; for waſhing of all things; for bleaching of linen, the ſofteſt water is always the beſt.

" But no artificer requires ſo great accuracy in the choice of water as the chemiſt. He uſes it for elixiviation, ſolution, precipitation, lotion, or ablution, cryſtallization, diſtillation, and numberleſs other operations. In which, if the water be not pure, that is, if it contains any thing foreign to his purpoſe, he is liable to endleſs errors and remedileſs deceptions.

" The waters in the natural ſtate found moſt pure are in the order in which we have ſet them down in the beginning of this work; to wit, 1. The meteoric, or atmoſpheric; as dew, rain, or ſnow, gathered with the given neceſſary cautions. This is to be looked upon as a kind of natural diſtillation, whoſe purity, like that of artificial diſtillation, depends upon the medium through which it paſſes, and the veſſels in which it is re-

ceived. 2. The terreſtrial; as the waters of ſprings, rivers, &c. which being but collections of the firſt, differ from them according to the various bodies on which they have layen, or the ſtrainers through which they have paſſed."

He then teaches how waters may be compared with each other: "From what has already been offered, relating to the nature and properties of water, the abſurdity of imagining any that falls under our cognizance being perfectly pure and homogene muſt moſt evidently appear: for, in the firſt place, it is hardly to be diveſted of air, without loſing its fluidity, or charging it with ſome other foreign matter; and if it imbibes air, it muſt take in all that ſuch air is charged with; which may be all the bodies of the terreſtrial creation, in different forms and proportions. However, as bodies muſt be divided into an inconceivable tenuity, to enable them to be ſuſpended in that moſt light fluid air; ſuch waters as contain moſt air, of all others are found the lighteſt and pureſt: for, ſuch waters as have their interſtices filled with groſs, heavy, ſaline, or other terrene bodies, contain but little air, and are therefore the moſt ponderous. Thus, we find the alkaline ley of tartar, abſurdly called oil, and the acid of vitriol, as improperly called ſo; both being none other than water ſaturated with different ſalts; theſe contain little or none air; as do waters charged with other ſalts or earths, as the waters of ſalt ſprings or the ſea, and petrefying waters in proportion.

"Hence the lighteſt waters moſt readily conceive igneous motion, as well as moſt ſuddenly loſe it; that is, are moſt quickly heated and the ſooneſt cool and freeze. It is hard to bring ley of tartar to boil, ſtill harder to bring the acid of vitriol to boil, and in proportion,

portion, ſuch waters as are charged with other groſs matters, whether ſalts or earths. Theſe alſo, when once heated, moſt ſlowly cool, and hardly freeze.

" As the leaſt terreſtrial water is the lighteſt, and the moſt readily in motion, ſo it muſt neceſſarily be the moſt volatile. Hence, expoſed to the open air, it is moſt apt to evaporate, and in diſtillation riſes the ſooneſt.

" The lighteſt water is proved not only by theſe marks, but by ſtatical experiments; for ſome waters appear lighter or heavier than others upon the balance. But, to make theſe trials with due accuracy, it is neceſſary to examine the waters to be compared in the ſame degree of temperature, either hot or cold. For, as water is capable of extreme rarefaction by heat, and conſiderable condenſation by cold, nothing can with certainty be determined by hydroſtatical experiments, without aſcertaining by the thermometer preciſely the degrees of heat or cold of the water at the time of making ſuch experiments.

" As water then is capable of receiving into its pores, or the interſtices of its parts, not only much air, but alſo great variety of ſalts and other terrene bodies, without ſenſibly increaſing its volume; ſo the water that contains moſt air is always found the lighteſt; as that which is moſt charged with terreſtreity muſt be found to contain leaſt air, and to appear ſtatically the moſt ponderous.

" Waters may be compared with ſufficient exactneſs by a common juſt pair of ſcales: Thus, let a ſtrong phial be made, to contain about two ounces, with a ſmall mouth, to which a ſtopple is exactly adapted by grinding. Let this phial be filled by immerſion in any water to be tried; then preſſing in the ſtopple

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as far as it can go, without violence, let it be quickly dried on the outſide, and exactly weighed. This will ſenſibly ſhow the difference between any two or more waters of the ſame temperature compared. That which is found to weigh the leaſt is the beſt, becauſe the lighteſt, conſequently the moſt pure water.

" The meteoric waters may be compared to the terreſtrial in any particular place or ſeaſon by the following experiment.

" Let any quantity of pure dry alkaline ſalt, one pound for inſtance, be taken and equally divided into two parts. Let the one be diſſolved by expoſing it to the open air, and abſorbing the humidity thereof, where it may be left ſubject to receive duſt or other foulneſs: let the increaſe be marked by meaſure and weight: let it then be evaporated to a dryneſs, and let the proceſs of thus diſſolving and evaporating be repeated ſeveral times. Then let the ſalt, well dried as at firſt, be exactly weighed, and the increaſe, if any, be marked.

" Let the other portion of ſalt be diſſolved in a ſufficient quantity of any water to be compared to the meteoric, noting the quantity with exactneſs, that the proportion of this water to that abſorbed from the atmoſphere be with due acccuracy aſcertained: let this ſolution, like the former, be carefully evaporated to a dryneſs, and the proceſs of ſolution and evaporation be repeated in this as in that, and at laſt the ſalt dried as at firſt; then let it be weighed, and its increaſe accurately noted; whatever either has increaſed in weight it muſt have gained it from the water in which it was diſſolved, if the experiments were performed with care and cleanlineſs; and, upon compariſon, the different purity or impurity of the ſolvent, with its proportions,

will

will be exactly known: the portion of ſalt which received the greateſt increaſe, or otherwiſe ſuffered the greateſt change, denominate the moſt impure water.

"By this means alſo any two terreſtrial waters may be compared.

"This may be a more certain method of determining the quantity of ſolid contents diſſolved in any water than ſimple evaporation by itſelf; for many particles of terrene matter may be ſuſpended ſo united with the water as to fly off with it in vapour, whoſe connection with that fluid may be ſo broken, by the interpoſition of this ſalt, that they may be more eaſily ſeparated; ſo that the water may be purely exhaled and leave its earthy companion, as well as ſome portion of its acid, mixed with the alkaline ſalt."

In the following pages is exhibited an exact analyſis of the different kinds of water uſed in London, of which moſt readers will be more curious to know the reſult than the proceſs.

Of the Thames water he obſerves, that, "Many have ſought, and ſome ſpoke of, a ſpirit to be extracted from Thames water; it is found liable to ferment and putrefy: this may happen from the oily matter and others in the water; yet it chiefly happens when it has lain ſome time in wooden veſſels: what it then affords by diſtillation is by no means to be imputed to the water alone; it partly belongs to the extractive parts of the wood, which the water diſſolves, ſubtilized by fermentation or putrefaction. But, from the component parts of the water, and from the immenſe variety of mixtures it receives from the city, it will not be wondered if it ſhould be more apt than ordinary to ferment and putrefy; the products of fermentation and pu-

putrefaction are not to be attributed to the water; both of theſe are but creatures of theſe operations, and conſequently foreign to the water, in the natural ſtate, in which alone it falls under our cognizance here.

" This is found one of the lighteſt, pureſt, ſofteſt, and beſt river waters into which the tide flows; the quantity of matters, foreign to pure water, contained in it, is very inconſiderable, notwithſtanding the immenſe quantity it daily appears to receive; it is not eaſy to collect rain water with much leſs, eſpecially near a great city. And though the proportions may be found to vary, yet theſe ſame principles or rather mixtures are to be found in ſome degrees in moſt waters that touch the earth.

" Such ſuperficial naturaliſts as enter upon the examination of ſome one or more medicinal waters, without having ever inquired into the nature of ſimple water, or compared the one with the orher, are apt to aſcribe the virtues of their favourite water, which with many may be conſidered as their idol, to ſome one or more of the ingredients now demonſtrated in the Thames, and to be found, in ſome degree, in all waters ſimple as well as medicated. Upon looking into any of our modern thermal phyſicians, it will readily appear, that they aſcribe ſulphur and bitumen, and even give the epithets ſulphureous or bituminous, to certain waters, for no better reaſon than an oily ſubſtance appearing in their reſidue as here. The ſenſible will aſſuredly beware of confiding in ſuch waters as ſulphureous, when all he meets, whether hot or cold, are generally ſuch in ſome meaſure. And who ſhould truſt the phyſician who relies on any water for ſulphureous qua-

qualities, which are found as plenty in ſprings, rivers, lakes, and ponds, as in his boaſted bath!"

Of the water of the New River, examined with the ſame care, he determines,

"That theſe waters may with ſafety and propriety be uſed, wherever a pure ſoft water is requiſite, for drinking or bathing, for waſhing or bleaching, for dreſſing of food, animal and vegetable, in the ways of baking or boiling, for making malt and for brewing, for preparing medicines by infuſion, decoction, diſtillation, &c. But, for the exact dilution of ſolutions for precipitations, for the waſhing of the magiſteries, for the dyeing the tenderer colours, for the accurate cryſtallization of ſalts, and the like operations, purer waters ſhould be ſought by the curious operator."

He then paſſes from the culinary or domeſtic to the medical uſes of water, which he explains with great copiouſneſs. As the cold bath is the common form in which water is applied, we ſhall conclude the extract of this month with ſome directions which may promote its ſucceſs.

"They who accuſtom their children from earlieſt infancy to frequent immerſion or waſhing in cold water, will have the comfort of ſeeing them grow up vigorous and healthful; and they who obſerve in themſelves the great benefits accruing from this ſalutary uſe of cold water, beſides the pleaſure it affords when thus made familiar, will be induced to continue the uſe and benefit of it to the laſt ſtages of life; ſuch will be found to eſcape rickets, coughs, rheums, rheumatiſms, and the lamentable train of evils that attends thoſe who, by too great tenderneſs and warmth in their youth, are rendered feeble and enervate, decrepid and old, before half their glaſs is run. They who are thus

early

early inured to the uſe of water require no previous preparation, no particular regard to ſeaſons; they waſh in hot and cold ſeaſons alike, and reap the pleaſure and emolument. I know a gentleman, not far from 80 years of age, who early in life launched out into trade, and continues it with great vigour, profit, and reputation: For many years this gentleman has accuſtomed himſelf to a ſingular kind of cold bath: he ſits or ſtands naked, while a ſervant wraps him up in a ſheet dipped in cold water: and continues in this ſome 20 or 30 minutes every morning winter and ſummer; and in return, enjoys the moſt uninterrupted ſtate of health.

"But ſuch as have not been early or long accuſtomed to this familiar uſe of water, muſt have recourſe to it with caution.

"Care muſt be taken that the bowels muſt be free and ſound, void of obſtruction, inflammation, or exulceration.

"That there be not too great a fulneſs in the firſt or ſecond paſſages: in either of which caſes, proper evacuation by bleeding, vomiting, or purging, as the exigency of the caſe, and the circumſtances of the patient may require, ſhould precede the uſe of cold bathing.

"The times of bathing are when the ſtomach and inteſtinal channel and the bladder are moſt empty, as in a morning ſoon after the natural diſcharges are made.

"The propereſt ſeaſon for cold bathing in general, I take to be the colder ſeaſons, not the hot, which are too frequently recommended: its effects depend upon the conſtitution of the patient. It warms the ſanguine and robuſt, and in ſuch promotes perſpiration. The phlegmatic and weak it cools, and obſtructs their perſpiration.

ſpiration. But in ſuch very delicate conſtitutions as cannot bear the ſhock of extreme cold, care is to be taken to attemperate the coldneſs of the water to their particular caſe and conſtitution; or, after beginning in the warmer weather, continue the bathing to, or through, the cold ſeaſon, as the nature and neceſſity of the caſe may require.

"No perſon is to ſtay in the cold water till it benumbs or thoroughly chills him: And as cold bathing is in general intended as a ſtrengthener, the water by its coldneſs and preſſure bringing on an univerſal contraction of the ſolids; this intention muſt be fruſtrated by tarrying long in the water; for then it becomes capable of reſolving and relaxing theſe fibres which it is employed to brace up and ſtrengthen.

"Cold, as well as hot bathing, is beſt adminiſtered in a diſcumbent poſture, as that in which all parts of the body are left in motion, or moſt at reſt; for then the action of the water is moſt equal and univerſal: always obſerving that the head be not the laſt part immerged.

"The tender and delicate ſhould be forbidden to move or ſpeak much whilſt they remain in the water; becauſe moving the organs of breathing or ſpeech, or any of the limbs, whilſt under the additional preſſure of the water, may greatly diſtreſs and injure feeble parts. Thoſe whoſe limbs or fingers are apt to be contracted, ſtiffened, or benumbed, by the cold bath, ſhould not perſevere in the uſe of it.

"Then the coldneſs of the water may be occaſionally increaſed at any time by the addition of divers ſalts, which ſerve at the ſame time to increaſe its weight and preſſure.

"All volatile alkaline ſalts increaſe the cold of water;

ter; whereas the fixed alkalis cauſe the contrary effect.

"The vitriolic ſalts ſlightly increaſe the cold of water, alum a little more, borax more than alum, common ſalt more than borax, common nitre more than ſalt, and ſalt ammoniac moſt of all.

"The proportions the chief of theſe bear to one another, as ſet down by M. Van Muſſchenbroek, ſtand thus:

"Roch alum powdered, two drams added to two ounces of water, each of the degrees of heat of 44 by the thermometer,—cauſed no ſenſible change upon mixture, but in about half an hour fell to $43\frac{1}{2}$.

"2. Borax dried and powdered, two drams added to one ounce and a half of water, each of 45 degrees of heat,—mixed, cauſed a ſenſible change by falling to 43.

"3. Sea ſalt dried, and water of the ſame temperament and in like quantity,—fell from 45 to 41 upon mixture.

"4. Common nitre or ſaltpetre, in like proportion and of the ſame temperament,—ſenſibly changed as the nitre diſſolved, till it fell from 45 to 31.

"5. Salt ammoniac and water, in like proportions and of the ſame temperament,—fell from 45 to 27.

"Thus may cold baths be medicated, their coldneſs, and with that their weight and preſſure increaſed, and other qualities changed, according to the intentions of the judicious phyſician.

"The vitriols, which are metals chiefly iron and copper, diſſolved in the univerſal acid, and verdigris, which is copper corroded by a vegetable fermented

acid; all increaſe, in ſome degree, the coldneſs of water upon mixture. But we muſt take care to avoid the common error of imagining, that waters impregnated with theſe or any other ſalts, are always to be found cold in proportion to the degree of ſaturation; for theſe and all ſuch like ſolutions muſt come to the temperature of the atmoſphere or veſſel in which they ſtand. So that though the cold of water be ſenſibly increaſed upon adding theſe ſalts till they be diſſolved, yet the coldneſs ſenſibly decreaſes in proportion to the warmth of the air, as ſoon as the ſolution is completed; after which the heat or cold of the water will depend upon other accidents, as before obſerved.

"The judicious will alſo be cautious in the uſe of waters thus diverſly impregnated; as their effects upon the ſolids and fluids muſt be very different from that of ſimple water."

On theſe directions we ſhall venture the following remarks.

It is incident to phyſicians, I am afraid, beyond all other men, to miſtake ſubſequence for conſequence, to uſe the fallacious inference *poſt hoc*, ergo *propter hoc*. "The old gentleman," ſays Dr Lucas, that uſes the cold bath, "enjoys in return an uninterrupted ſtate of health." This inſtance does not prove that the cold bath produces health, but only that it will not always deſtroy it. He is well with the bath, he would have been well without it. I have known, every man has known, old men ſcrupulouſly careful to avoid cold, who enjoyed in return an uninterrupted ſtate of health.

The caution not to bathe with a full ſtomach is juſt, though it is violated every ſummer day without hurt.

The rules about the poſture to be uſed in the bath,

and the directions to forbear to ſpeak during the action of the water, are refinements too minute to deſerve attention. He is paſt much hope from baths to whom ſpeech or ſilence can make any difference.

From the dream of medicating a cold bath, a man may be ſoon awakened by computing the quantity of ſalts neceſſary to increaſe its coldneſs, and how much more muſt be added to make any perceptible alteration in its preſſure.

The ſucceeding parts of Dr Lucas's book contain analytical examinations of the waters found in the moſt celebrated and frequented medicinal ſprings or baths. In foreign waters, though indeed often viſited, but more commonly by voluptuouſneſs or curioſity than ſickneſs, the natives of this iſland have little intereſt, and we ſhall therefore paſs over his obſervations upon them without extract or ſelection: But our own waters of Bath, to which almoſt all the wealthy and all the wretched make an annual reſort; to which thoſe have recourſe to whom baffled phyſicians preſcribe change of place, or exhauſted luxury prompts change of pleaſure; the baths from which ſuch multitudes expect either eaſe of pain or increaſe of happineſs, deſerve to be conſidered with particular attention.

Sickneſs will fly to any place where health is promiſed: but what ſhould draw the happy and the healthy to Bath, it is not eaſy to diſcover, ſince all that Bath can afford preferably to any other place, the luxury of a warm fountain, is polluted by the moſt brutal groſſneſs, and impeded by the moſt troubleſome inconvenience. "The ſhameful abuſe of theſe celebrated waters muſt evidently appear upon conſidering the preſent method of bathing in Bath. In the firſt place, here are no places for undreſſing upon going in

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to the bath, nor for taking a bed or for dreſſing upon coming out. Every bather muſt then be carried undreſſed from his lodgings; muſt take his chance for the temperature of the air, as well as of that of the bath; which, for its ſize, the time required for filling it, and its expoſure to the variable open air, can never be determined two days, or perhaps two hours, together: he muſt go in expoſed to the eyes of the multitude, for whoſe entertainment the pump-room windows overlook the king's bath, on one ſide, for the amuſement of perſons of a certain rank; whilſt the other ſides are environed with a parapet-wall, by way of baluſtrade, to make a gallery for the convenience of the numberleſs ſpectators of the loweſt claſs, who divert themſelves there with the ſight of the bathers as at a bull or bear beating. In this way, a poor patient muſt perambulate a pavement, more unequal than that of many of their ſtreets; in ſome places covered with large looſe pebbles, fit for mending the high-ways by way of gravel. After wading along a conſiderable ſpace of this rugged way, which no patient can be ſuppoſed to do without the aſſiſtance of the preſſure of the water, and an attendant in the ſame attire, called a *guide*: Thus ſupported and conducted, a perſon may paſs along through a crowd of bathers, guides, and ſpectators, of both ſexes and of all ranks; and when the ſeverity of the weather requires it, he may ſometimes ſhelter himſelf like a ſtatue in a nitch, if he comes time enough before they be all taken up. After making the deſtined circuit, he is conducted back to the ſlip, a narrow ſhaded place with ſtairs, by which the bathers ſlip or go in and out: here he is ſtripped of his wet garb, gets on a dry flannel ſhirt, is wrapped up in blankets, and ſent home in a chair to his lodgings,

there to take his bed, to cool, or to ſweat if he can, according to the directions of his phyſician.

" In the next place, to guard againſt the inclemency of the weather, as well as to conceal ones nakedneſs from the eyes of the multitude, every bather, like his attendant, is dreſſed in a tight canvaſs jacket and drawers, with a cap upon his head; all which he wears in coming from his lodgings to the bath. This, or any other attire, muſt help to fruſtrate the intention and the end of bathing; as the ſkin cannot come freely into contact with more water than at firſt going into the baths paſſes through and fills this garment; nor can the body with decency at any time, in the public view of bathers and ſpectators of both ſexes, nor with ſafety in the open air, at other times, be waſhed and rubbed, as it ſhould be to anſwer fully the purpoſes of bathing.

" In the third place, the baths can be had only at certain hours in the forenoon: and to complete the abſurdity of the political as well as medicinal adminiſtration of theſe baths, the patients, regardleſs of their ranks or neceſſities, are peremptorily prohibited to bathe on Sundays; for though the worſhipful head and members of the government never are known to refuſe to draw beer or brandy, or to ſell any other of their wares on Sundays, and though every other form of medicine may be purchaſed, bathing, however neceſſary, is not to be permitted. In this reſpect, the ox or the aſs falling into a pit at Bath, is not to be helped out on the Sabbath-day; to ſhow their regard to the founder of our religion, who taught the reverſe. Moreover, as bathing in one particular bath muſt neceſſarily be preſcribed to numbers of both ſexes and at the ſame time, there muſt be a promiſcuous bathing of ſexes, which decency and common ſenſe, as well as phyſical reaſoning,

reaſoning, muſt condemn. The women, it is true, are clothed. Formerly they wore drawers like the men; now they wear looſe canvaſs ſhifts, girded about the waiſt, or waiſtcoats, and ſhort petticoats with ſome leaden weights to prevent their riſing with the air-bubbles of the bath-waters; as their female attendants or guides alſo do. In this they ſuffer in ſome meaſure the ſame diſadvantages with the men. The looſer garb is certainly the better. But the bathing of numbers together, though of either ſex, is extremely inelegant, as well as irrational. The more breathe the ſame confined air together, the worſe that air muſt neceſſarily be made. Yea, we know that confined air, by much breathing in it, becomes, inſtead of wholeſome, noxious to every animal. Who can be ignorant that water ſuffers in the ſame proportion? Who is there ſo uncleanly as to waſh his feet, or even dip his fingers, in the water uſed by another? And ſhall perſons of any ſenſe of elegance, decency, or reaſon, go into a bath in which not only the hands and feet, but the whole bodies of both ſexes, foul and diſtempered as they may be, are at once immerged and waſhed? Sure the vile, baſe cuſtom needs no more than to be thus curſorily expoſed, to render it deteſted and avoided as it deſerves! What a reproach is it to our phyſic and polity, that this reformation has been ſo much and ſo long wanted! That while ſome have found it their intereſt to furniſh out theatres, magnificent rooms not equalled out of Britain, for balls, concerts, aſſemblies; in ſhort, while ample proviſion is made for all the ordinary entertainments and amuſements, there appears nothing done with a deſign to make the drinking or bathing in the waters effectual, commodious, or even ſafe! For, beſides the inconveniences and the

danger attending the uſe of the barbarous baths, there is not a covered way to walk in after drinking, but patients muſt ſit or ſtand in the pump-room; which, from its ſituation, ſtructure, and pavement, muſt be too hot in ſummer and as much too cold in winter. So that, upon the whole, there appears no more contrivance, deſign, or regularity, no more proviſion for the ſick, no more thought of ſeconding the efficacy of the waters, than if Bath had been as completely deſerted as it is crowded by phyſicians, apothecaries, and chirurgeons.

"To this it probably may be objected, that I expoſe faults which are not to be corrected; that they have been obſerved and animadverted upon with due concern by many before me; but that no means could be found of remedying the evils. To this I anſwer, that none evil is eaſier remedied: it is evident that the quantity of water diſcharged by the ſmalleſt of theſe ſources is ſufficient to furniſh a conſiderable number of baths, great and ſmall. But ſuppoſe there was none other ſource than that of the king's bath, it is eaſy to calculate, from the quantity of water by that in a few hours diſcharged, that this alone could be made to ſupply, at all hours of the day, a greater number of baths than are generally wanting there. But as we find the king's bath ſource diſcharges about one thouſand and ſixty tuns in twenty-four hours; that of the croſs bath about one hundred and ten tuns in the ſame time, and that of the hot bath about one hundred and twelve tuns in the like ſpace, it is eaſy to compute how many baths may be filled with new water in the day, allowing one tun to a bath for a ſingle perſon. The method of diſtributing them is moſt ſimple and eaſy: it is but incloſing the great ſource, as at Aken, with

with a thick, ſtrong, cloſe cemented, ſtone wall, in the form of a ciſtern, of a convenient height, arching it cloſely over, the better to confine the vapour, as well as the heat of the waters; leaving an opening, with a well adapted cover, by which the vegetable ſcum, hitherto looked upon as ſulphur, ſhould at convenient times be removed in the warm ſeaſons, when alone it riſes. From ſuch a conduit as this, it is eaſy to conceive how theſe waters, in the higheſt perfection, may be conveyed to all the lower part of the town by pipes or aqueducts of other kinds. If then, in the places of the preſent ſhamefully rude and barbarous baths, proper houſes were built, with all the fit accommodations for decent, regular, and rational, baths, as in the ancient Roman baths, or thoſe of Aken; they may be ſure of a copious ſupply of water, in greater perfection than it can now be had, as well as with vapour baths, which are now unknown in this city. There need be no promiſcuous bathing of the ſexes; none impediment from garments; no danger of imbibing the foulneſs or diſeaſes of another body: for every individual, where it ſhould be found neceſſary, might have a particular private bath, as well as a bed contiguous, and all the other requiſites for bathing decently, commodiouſly, rationally, and effectually."

Dr Lucas then proceeds to analyſe the waters which have been hitherto univerſally, or almoſt univerſally, believed to be ſulphureous. Lucas has, I believe, irrefragably ſhown, that whatever elſe they may contain they are without ſulphur.

Of the ſulphureous impregnation two evidences ſuppoſed invincible were produced; one a ſulphur, or ſulphureous concrete floating on the water; the other

the known practice of making ſhillings become guineas, or of giving ſilver a yellow tinge.

Of the ſulphur found in the water this is his account.

"I was deſired to call to any of the guides for Bath ſulphur, as they who were accuſtomed to collect and apply it to the patients would undoubtedly give me the right ſort. Having thus had recourſe to the guides, for greater certainty, I readily procured ſome ſpecimens of this Bath ſulphur, which were approved to be right by thoſe that put me in this method of procuring it. But I was not at all undeceived. I was now only certified what it was that had been thus taken for ſulphur, which was only what I had before obſerved and collected myſelf, a fair vegetable, a minute aquatic plant; which, though evident to the ſenſes of ſight, touch, and ſmell, Mr Thomas Haviland the apothecary, of all that I converſed with or heard of at Bath, was the only perſon I met ſkilful enough in botany to perceive it to be but an aquatic plant!

"I took of this ſubſtance, which ſmelled like others of its tribe, and had a ferrugineous taſte, from the chalybeate ſcum of the water, which aroſe and mixed with this minute vegetable, ſo that the one could not be well gathered without the other. I waſhed off the mud that adhered to it, and could then diſtinctly ſee its minute more than capillary, ſtalks, or fibres, like ſhreds of a fine deep green ſilk, and ſhowed them to ſeveral others. Mr Woulfe, a moſt ingenious naturaliſt and chemiſt, who aſſiſted me in mine experiments, then at Bath, and Mr Vaughan the chirurgeon, obſerved the ſame. It anſwered all the characteriſtics of the ſmall aquatic plants before mentioned, under the title of Alga or Conferva."

The

The yellow tincture imparted to ſilver he has very carefully traced to its true cauſe; and gives the following hiſtory of the proceſs.

"A clean ſilver ſpoon, ſtanding ſome hours in the water, ſhowed not the leaſt viſible tendency to yellow. The ſame experiment tried at the pump, under a continual current of hot water, had no better ſucceſs. Then clean ſilver leaf, beat out of coppelled ſilver, was ſet in a large glaſs, and filled with water from the pump, where it was kept for eight hours, firſt the water often renewed without any ſenſible change; and then for twenty-four hours, in the like manner, without inclining perceptibly to any ſhade of yellow. I repeated theſe experiments ſeveral times to no better effect; and at length preſumed to conclude in mine own mind, with great ſubmiſſion to theſe potent diſpenſers of fire and brimſtone, and all ſelf-ſufficient dictators, that they were all, in this at leaſt, miſtaken.

"Being by repeated accurate trials aſſured of the truth of mine experiments, I ventured to mention their reſult publicly; when I received for anſwer from ſome, that the exiſtence of ſulphur was too well atteſted by the authority of ancient and modern writers and practitioners, to admit of any doubt at this day; that the fact was known to the guides or attendants of the baths; and that if I give any of them ſome ſhillings, they would ſoon bring them to me tinged, as if guilded, ſo that they might paſs for guineas." I gave one of the guides ſome ſhillings, which he ſoon returned to me of a clean, bright, pale guinea-colour. The fact was not to be denied, and the gainſayer muſt be a fool in common eſtimation. But how this was done now remained to be ſhown. It was firſt ſaid to be done by the Bath-water. But, that being denied, as plainly impoſſible,

impoſſible, with a boldneſs that ſavoured more of truth than diſcretion; the waters and mud were then ſaid to be both neceſſary. Upon deſiring then to ſee the gilding thus performed, it was at firſt evaded, and at length poſitively refuſed; being, as was alleged, a ſecret of great import.

"I now ſaw the fraud clearly; for if the Bath waters mud, or any thing elſe, properly belonging to the baths, were really concerned in this pretended gilding or tinging of ſilver, why ſhould it not be done as openly and publicly as the matter was by all ranks aſſerted for a fact?

"I could not be inſenſible of the various ways of tinging ſilver yellow. I readily and clearly ſaw this was neither really gilded nor lacquered, but actually tinged, as in ſome ſuch ſolution of a phlogiſtic body, as we have before mentioned. Deſirous to come at the truth, I was obliged to fall in with the too univerſal mode, and bribe the under-prieſt of the myſteries only to let me ſee his operation."

"He pretended artfully, that the mud of the baths was what, by a peculiar management known only to a few of his brethren, by which, I hope, he meaned only the guides, produced the golden effect. I ſaw him collect the mud and attended him to his own houſe, where I found his wife was the more dexterous in the fraudulent operation. Having firſt ſcoured well the pieces to be gilded with fine ſand, ſhe poured ſome hot water out of a kettle upon the mud in an earthen baſon. Into this mixture ſhe threw the ſcoured ſhillings and rubbed them in it with her fingers; but without producing any ſenſible effect. Then ſhe took up a quart bottle and poured a little of its liquid contents into the muddy mixture; upon which the ſhillings

lings began to change their aſpect and turn yellow; ſhe continued rubbing them, now and then adding ſome of the liquor in the bottle, till ſhe brought them to the deſired colour: then ſhe waſhed them ſlightly with the warm water, and dried them. Thus was the ſilver evidently tinged of a golden colour.

"I muſt have wanted the ſenſe of ſmelling, as well as be void of all knowledge in chemiſtry, did I not diſcover this ſecret at ſight and ſmell of the operation. I took another clean ſhilling and ſhowed them they need not be at that trouble, ſince what was in the bottle alone was ſufficient for the purpoſe; ſo pouring a little of the ſecret odoriferous juice upon this clean ſhilling, tinged it inſtantly as deep, though not as equal, as thoſe that were rubbed with the mud. Neither Bath water, nor any thing that enters its compoſition, is concerned in this operation, which is performed by what offends the ſenſes even at naming, putrid urine only, without any thing related to theſe baths."

It is of more importance to know what diſeaſes theſe waters will cure than of what ingredients they are compounded: we ſhall conclude this extract with the author's opinion of their virtues.

"Whatſoever diſorders may be relieved by dilution with warm water, charged with a mineral ſpirit of the acid kind, with a more heavy acid of the vitriolic kind, and by their means, impregnated with a very ſmall portion of iron, a conſiderable quantity of abſorbent earth and ſelenite, with a little ſea-ſalt, and leſs Glauber's ſalt; I ſay, whatever ſuch a compoſition, moſt exquiſitely performed by the inimitable chemiſtry of nature, may, Bath water muſt, effect; but no more.

"Whatever diſcords, then, derive their origin from an acrimony, not aceſcency, of the juices; whatever

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ever diſorders ſpring from an alkaleſcency of the humours, ſuch as a redundance or preternatural acrimony of the bile, with putreſcency in the fluids or bowels; there, the feveriſh commotions being previouſly allayed, Bath waters will be found a ſovereign remedy.

"But wherever, if ever, it has been found ſerviceable in oppoſite indications; there the effects muſt be attributed to the predominancy of the watery element, with the little pittance of iron which it contains.

"In all choleric complaints, whether their effects be felt in the firſt or ſecond paſſages, or upon the ſurface of the ſkin, in the variety of eruptions and foulneſſes that come under the denomination of bilious, in the putrid and alkaleſcent ſtate of the juices, attending a long continuance of theſe diſorders; or brought on by foul, luxurious feeding upon putrifying animal food, with ſharp hot ſauces, the modes of our wiſe and polite days; by conſequent putrid fevers; or by long voyages at ſea, wherein men are generally forced to live upon ſalt and ſtale proviſions, unwholeſome beverage, and foul air; in the rheumatic and other ſharp pains in the bowels and limbs attending theſe complaints; in ſpaſms, palſies, hypochondriac and hyſteric paſſions and other nervous diſorders ariſing from this cauſe: Bath water muſt prove one of the beſt remedies within the compaſs of human knowledge, as it muſt dilute the humours, blunt and correct their acrimony, reſiſt their putrefaction, and promote their expulſion by the proper emunctories; and at the ſame time tend to brace up the ſolids to the natural tone.

"Hence it is eaſy to conceive in what a variety of caſes Bath waters may be rationally and ſucceſsfully adminiſtered.

"Bath waters may ſometimes be found ſerviceable

where they do not at firſt ſight appear indicated, but rather the contrary. How can Bath waters, being found uſeful to gouty and nephritic perſons, as in ſome inſtances it has been, be accounted for upon the principles laid down? In mine apprehenſion, it can only be done in this manner: ſimple dilution is the baſis of every known remedy in theſe diſorders. A compound fluid, whoſe ſolid contents are but about ſeventeen grains in a pint, cannot be ſuppoſed void of that requiſite. The ſolid contents, eſpecially the terrene, which make about twelve parts of the ſeventeen, cannot, in this vehicle, be of any ſort of ſervice, and may poſſibly be the reverſe; by increaſing the calculous matter; and the acid muſt tend to thicken the juices, and conſequently to lay a foundation for an increaſe of the malady. Yet the patients are confeſſedly relieved! But how?—If by ſuperabundant bile, the ſtomach and bowels have been irritated and weakened, the appetite and digeſtion vitiated, the ſecretions and excretions diſturbed or interrupted; whereby the gout is rendered irregular. Bath water, agreeable to our theory, will eaſe and ſtrengthen the ſtomach and bowels, reſtore the loſſed functions, and ſoon after bring on a regular fit; which being the criſis by which the diſorder is relieved, the patient neceſſarily grows better, eaſier, and ſtronger, than for ſome time before he could have been. In this ſalutary change, however, the watery element bears no ſmall ſhare; as has been explained in treating of ſimple warm water. And upon the ſame principle do theſe waters become uſeful in ſome particular nephritic caſes, without being therefore juſtly to be enumerated among the fit medicines for the ſtones, gravel, or gout.

"To me then it plainly appears, that the waters of Bath are moſt effectual, moſt excellent remedies, in all

all diſorders that ariſe from the reverſe of acids, choler, or bile, or an alkaleſcency in the juices, and vices thereto conſequent, induced in the ſtate of the ſolids; for which they could not poſſibly be found proper, had they, as has been long falſely imagined and aſſerted, been charged, like ſome of the baths of the ancients to which they are unjuſtly compared, with bitumen, ſulphur, or nitre; the contrary of which, both from theory and practice, appears.

"I muſt remark, that the doſes commonly given of Bath waters, with or without the medley of medicines uſually mixed with them, can be found of very little real benefit. Let any ſenſible man, however unaſſiſted with phyſical reaſoning, but judge what can be effected by a pint of water warmed and impregnated to the pitch pointed out in Bath water; what is to be expected from the proportions of the ingredients of this compoſition, jointly or ſeparately taken? The water of almoſt every common pump contains in general almoſt as much earth as any of the waters of Bath; and ſome ſalt partly of the ſame nature, leſs indeed in quantity. No man that drinks water, baulks at a pint, two, or three of ſuch a water in the day. The addition of a mineral acid, with a ſmall proportion of another neuter ſalt and a very ſmall quantity of iron, muſt undoubtedly make ſome difference; yet not ſurely ſuch as can authoriſe the confining patients, even of the robuſt kind, to a pint a day for months, and much leſs to three or four ounces a day two or three times a week, as is frequently the caſe at Bath. The more ancient, who certainly were not much more ignorant of the nature of theſe waters, nor leſs empirical than the more modern practitioners, gave their patients more of the waters, and leſs ſhop medicines than their ſucceſſors. The

former gave them hardly from a pint or two at a time, to five, ſix, eight, or ten, pints a day at proper intervals, according as the ſtomach and bowels would bear them, without offence or inconvenience to the patient. And if their records bear truth, which even their diſſenting followers are forced to confeſs, the practice of thoſe who gave them thus by the pint, was attended with infinitely greater and better ſucceſs than can be boaſted to attend that of thoſe who have ſince meaſured them out ſtrictly by the ounce.

" All extremes are bad. And as nothing is to be expected from the puiſne pittance of the more modern practitioners, than what they themſelves ſeem to look for, the detaining the patients at Bath, to favour the opportunity of giving plenty of other medicines; ſo on the other hand, ſome miſchief may be dreaded from large and ſudden draughts. I think they had beſt be taken at half a pint at a time, at convenient intervals, as far as four, ſix, or eight ſuch glaſſes in the forenoon; one or two at an hour or two's diſtance before dinner; and as much about the ſame time before ſupper. Rarely, if ever, at meals, as they can but ill, if at all, aſſiſt digeſtion.

" It behoves the more weakly and delicate to be more cautious in commencing a courſe of theſe waters; and none ſhould take them without previouſly emptying the firſt paſſages with ſome ſimple, ſaline, or manna purge. Thoſe of tender frames will find it beſt to begin with one of the cooler waters, as that of the croſs bath, for example; and at firſt, take no more than a quarter of a pint at a time, and not above a glaſs or two a day for ſome days; then increaſing it gradually inſenſibly to the quantity requiſite, and then gradually exchanging it for the hotteſt, where that is found neceſſary;

ceſſary; and after taking it thus the ſtated time, diminiſhing the quantity, and changing the water in the ſame order and proportion in which it was augmented.

Geographical, hiſtorical, political, philoſophical, and mechanical Eſſays; the firſt, containing an analyſis of a general Map of the middle Britiſh Colonies in America; and of the Country of the Confederate Indians. A deſcription of the face of the Country, the boundaries of the Confederates; and the maritime and inland Navigations of the ſeveral Rivers and Lakes contained therein. By LEWIS EVANS.

NOTHING in this world is ſimply good. Peace, the great bleſſing of the world, produces luxury, idleneſs, and effeminacy. Scarcely any thing is ſimply evil. War among its numerous miſeries has ſometimes uſeful conſequences. The laſt war between the Ruſſians and Turks made geographers acquainted with the ſituation and extent of many countries little known before in the north of Europe; and the war now kindled in America, has incited us to ſurvey and delineate the immenſe waſtes of the weſtern continent by ſtronger motives than mere ſcience or curioſity could ever have ſupplied, and enabled the imagination to wander over the lakes and mountains of that region, which many learned men have marked as the ſeat deſtined by Providence for the fifth empire.

At

At what time, or whether at any time, their prediction will be verified, no human ſagacity can diſcover; but as power is the conſtant and unavoidable conſequence of learning, there is no reaſon to doubt that the time is approaching when the Americans ſhall in their turn have ſome influence on the affairs of mankind, for literature apparently gains ground among them. A library is eſtabliſhed in Carolina; and ſome great electrical diſcoveries were made at Philadelphia, where the map and treatiſe which we are now about to conſider were likewiſe printed and engraved.

Weſtward the ſeat of empire takes its way:
The four firſt acts already paſt,
The fifth ſhall end the drama with the day;
Time's nobleſt product is the laſt.

Bp. BERKLEY.

To this great event the preſent inland war cannot fail to contribute, as the inhabitants will neceſſarily become better verſed in the military arts, and the Indians themſelves, as they are courted by one or other of the contending nations, will learn the uſe of European weapons, and the convenience of European inſtitutions. They will at leaſt in time learn their own importance, and will be incited to attempt ſomething more than the chaſe of beavers, when they are once convinced that ſomething more may be performed.

The map is engraved with ſufficient beauty, and the treatiſe written with ſuch elegance as the ſubject admits, though not without ſome mixture of the American dialect; a tract of corruption to which every language widely diffuſed muſt always be expoſed.

The general account which Mr Evans gives of his map, may afford ſome hints for the improvement of geographical projections.

"It compriſes ſuch an extent, as is connected with that very valuable country on the Ohio, which is now the object of the Britiſh and French policy, and the different routes of both nations thither. The lake Ontario is equally open to both; to the one, by the river St Lawrence; to the other, by the rivers Hudſon, Mohoks, and Seneca. But the French having, 30 years ago, fixed themſelves on the ſtraits of Niagara by building fortreſſes on lands confeſſedly Britiſh, ſecured the key on that ſide to all the country weſtward. Thoſe in power ſee at laſt its conſequence, and are projecting the recovery of it; and with great judgment for that purpoſe, are eſtabliſhing a naval force on lake Ontario, as very neceſſary in the recovery and ſecuring of it. The iſſue of this enterpriſe will have great influence on our affairs, and of all things it becomes the colonies to puſh it on with vigour. If they ſucceed here, the remainder of the work will be eaſy; and nothing ſo without it. The Engliſh have ſeveral ways to Ohio; but far the beſt is by Potomack.

"By reaſon of the little acquaintance the public has with theſe remote parts, where the country is yet a wilderneſs, and the neceſſity of knowing the ways of travelling there, eſpecially by water; in the map is pointed out the nature of the ſeveral ſtreams; as where rapid, gentle, or obſtructed with falls, and conſequently more or leſs fitted for inland navigation with canoes, boats, or larger veſſels; and where the portages are made at the falls, or from one river, creek, or lake, to another. And for diſtinguiſhing the extent of the marine navigation, the places that the tide reaches, in the ſeveral rivers, are pointed out. And in theſe ſheets, both the marine and inland navigation are treated of at length.

"As

" As the nature of the ſoil and ſtreams depend upon the elevation and depreſſion of the land, I have particularly explained here the different ſtages that it is divided into. It were to be wiſhed that we had like accounts of all countries; as ſuch would diſcover to us great regularity, where an unattentive obſerver would imagine there was nothing but confuſion; and at the ſame time explain the climates, the healthineſs, the produce, and conveniences for habitations, commerce, and military expeditions, to a judicious reader in a few pages, better than volumes of remarks on places drawn without theſe diſtinctions.

" To render this map uſeful in commerce, and in aſcertaining the boundaries of lands, the time of high water at the full and change of the moon, and the variation of the magnetical needle, are laid down. But as theſe deſerve particular explanations, I have, for want of room, concluded to treat of them at large in a ſeparate eſſay.

" Along the weſtern margin of the map is a line repreſenting the greateſt lengths of days and nights (without allowance for the refraction), which will aſſiſt travellers in forming ſome judgment of the latitude of places, by the help of their watches only.

" Though many of theſe articles are almoſt peculiar to the author's maps, they are of no leſs importance than any thing that has yet had a place amongſt geographers. But want of room in the plate has obliged me to leave out what would have very much aſſiſted my explanation of the face of the country, I mean a ſection of it in ſeveral directions: ſuch would have exhibited the riſing and falling of the ground, and how elevated above the ſurface of the ſea; what parts are

level, what rugged; where the mountains riſe, and how far they ſpread. Nor is this all that a perpendicular ſection might be made to repreſent; for, as on the upper ſide, the elevations, depreſſions, outer appearances, and names of places, may be laid down; on the lower, the nature of the ſoil, ſubſtrata, and particular foſſils, may be expreſſed. It was with regret I was obliged to omit it. But in ſome future maps of ſeparate colonies, I hope to be furniſhed with more room.

"The preſent, late, and ancient ſeats of the original inhabitants are expreſſed in the map; and though it might be imagined that ſeveral nations are omitted, which are mentioned by authors; it may be remarked, that authors, for want of knowledge in Indian affairs, have taken every little ſociety for a ſeparate nation; whereas they are not truly more in number than I have laid down. I have been ſomething particular in theſe ſheets in repreſenting the extent of the country of the confederates or five nations; becauſe, whatever is theirs, is expreſsly acceded to the Engliſh by treaty with the French."

He has given a ſhort table of latitude, which will likewiſe be of uſe to thoſe who ſhall conſtruct general maps. As he writes chiefly for America, he places his meridian at the Sate-houſe in Philadelphia; but to facilitate the compariſon of his map with others, he has added a computation of degrees from London.

"The principal obſervations of latitude are theſe,

Boſton	42	25	
N. Boundary Connecticut	42	2	By Governor Burnet.
New York	40	42	
N. Station Point	41	40	By the Jerſey and N. York Commiſſioners, 1719.

Phi-

Philadelphia	39	57	By L. Evans.
Shamokin	40	40	
Owege	41	45	
Onandaga	42	55	
Oſwego	43	17	
Sandy-Hook	40	28	
Ray's Town,	39	59	By Colonel Fry.
Shannopen's Town.	40	26	
S. Side of S. St. Louis.	45	18	By Champlain, in 1603.
Ville Marie,	45	27	

As this treatiſe conſiſts principally of deſcriptions of roads disfigured by Indian names, and of authorities on which the map depends, it ſcarcely admits of extract or epitome. There are, however, interſperſed ſome obſervations, like green ſpots among barren mountains, from which our readers will obtain a juſt idea of the ſituation and ſtate of thoſe untravelled countries.

"To recount all the ſurveys of roads, tracts of land, and general lines that I have been favoured with in the compoſition of my former map, which makes ſo conſiderable a part of this, would be endleſs: but I muſt not omit here to repeat, with gratitude, my thanks, not only for the favours many gentlemen did me, but the cheerfulneſs they ſhowed in aſſiſting in a deſign intended for public ſervice. It would have been almoſt impoſſible to have ſucceeded in the compoſition, notwithſtanding all theſe helps, without my perſonal knowledge alſo of almoſt all the country it contained. One of the greateſt miſtakes in it aroſe from my going from Kinderhook to Albany by night, where the ſkipper deceived me in the diſtance. An European may be at a loſs to know, why there is a neceſſity for theſe ſorts of helps in making a map of a country; for that

reaſon it muſt be obſerved, that all America, eaſt of Miſſiſippi, low lands, hills, and mountains, is every where covered with woods, except ſome interval ſpots of no great extent, cleared by the European colonies. Here are no churches, towers, houſes, or peaked mountains to be ſeen from afar, no means of obtaining the bearings or diſtances of places, but by the compaſs and actual menſuration with the chain. The mountains are all almoſt ſo many ridges with even tops and nearly of a height. To look from theſe hills into the lower lands, is but as it were into an ocean of woods, ſwelled and depreſſed here and there by little inequalities, not to be diſtinguiſhed, one part from another, any more than the waves of the real ocean.

" The uniformity of theſe mountains, though debarring us of an advantage in this reſpect, makes ſome amends in another. They are very regular in their courſes, and confine the creeks and rivers that run between; and if we know where the gapes are that let through theſe ſtreams, we are not at a loſs to lay down their moſt conſiderable inflections."

On occaſion of mentioning the Indians of Ohio, Mr Evans gives a good account of the French deſigns and the means of oppoſing them.

" I muſt not omit giving one caution to thoſe in power, in this public manner; for I find from experience, that few are to be benefited from private information. Heretofore we apprehended no greater ſcheme of the French than making a communication between Canada and the mouth of Miſſiſippi. As this was remote, we thought ourſelves but little intereſted in it. Now they attempt it nigher to us, by the way of Ohio, where they have begun an eſtabliſhment. If this ſucceed, it is not Ohio only muſt fall under their dominion,

nion, but the country thence ſouthward to the bay of Mexico. For that reaſon it becomes the Engliſh immediately to eſtabliſh forts on the Cherokee river, and other paſſes in the way from Ohio to Moville, before the French attempt to ſettle there, or draw off the Cherokees, Chicaſaws, or Creeks, from their friendſhip to the Engliſh. And ſuppoſing the French ſhould be beaten off from the Ohio, it is ten to one but they will turn their forces, in hopes of better fortune, to the back of Carolina. We charge the Indians with ficklenes, but with greater propriety we ſhould charge ourſelves with great want of ſenſe or experience, in ſuppoſing any nation is to be tied to another by any other thing than intereſt. The Welinis cultivated a friendſhip with the Engliſh for the ſake of trade, and got leave of the confederates to remove nigher them. They ſhowed both affection and reſolution in the defence of the Engliſh at the Tawightawi town, where they loſt out of 70 not leſs than 22 warriors on the ſpot: and tho' the French afterwards offered them very advantageous terms, they ſtill perſiſted in their affection to us and in their war with the French. Amuſed with expectation of relief, they were baſely abandoned, without arms, and without ammunition, to the reſentment of an enraged enemy. It is a cuſtom eſtabliſhed with the Engliſh to purchaſe the friendſhip of wavering nations at a great expence, and to abandon their friends. Hence thoſe who know this mixture of weakneſs and baſeneſs that poſſeſſes us, keep members of council in the French intereſts as well as ours, as the confederates do, to keep us under a perpetual contribution; while thoſe nations who are truly in our intereſt are entirely ſlighted.

" If we ſecure the country back of Carolina in time,

reaſon it muſt be obſerved, that all America, eaſt of Miſſiſippi, low lands, hills, and mountains, is every where covered with woods, except ſome interval ſpots of no great extent, cleared by the European colonies. Here are no churches, towers, houſes, or peaked mountains to be ſeen from afar, no means of obtaining the bearings or diſtances of places, but by the compaſs and actual menſuration with the chain. The mountains are all almoſt ſo many ridges with even tops and nearly of a height. To look from theſe hills into the lower lands, is but as it were into an ocean of woods, ſwelled and depreſſed here and there by little inequalities, not to be diſtinguiſhed, one part from another, any more than the waves of the real ocean.

" The uniformity of theſe mountains, though debarring us of an advantage in this reſpect, makes ſome amends in another. They are very regular in their courſes, and confine the creeks and rivers that run between; and if we know where the gapes are that let through theſe ſtreams, we are not at a loſs to lay down their moſt conſiderable inflections."

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" If we ſecure the country back of Carolina in time,

we ſhall yet defeat the very point that it is the French intereſt to purſue; I mean a communication between the Ohio and Moville. Whatever we may ſurmiſe in regard to the great river Miſſiſippi, being the only channel fitted for the inland commerce of Florida, and no other would ſuit the French, we ſhould find ourſelves extremely miſtaken. Even now the French ſcarce ever come up that river by water, by reaſon of its great and uniform rapidity, ſcarce to be ſtemmed in a canoe and ſix oars in mid-channel. This obliges the French, in coming up, to take to the river Rouge, notwithſtanding they are obliged to make one or two very long portages. The edges are leſs rapid in the Miſſiſippi, but then the enmity of the Indians on its banks prevents their keeping ſo near the ſhore. Therefore, to make what uſe this river is capable of, the French muſt ſecure the country of the Chicaſaws and Cherokees; and then Moville, and not New Orleans, will be the centre of the French trade of Florida; ſince the latter, tho' ſcarce 40 leagues up the Miſſiſippi, by reaſon of the rapidity of the river, is not reached with ſhips in leſs than 30 or 40 days from the mouth; and Moville is upon Tide-water. If in purſuit of our preſent point on Ohio, we ſhow any remiſſneſs in our attachment to the ſafety of thoſe Indians who are our friends, or we neglect to ſecure the country back of Carolina, the defection of the Indians there is inevitable; ſince the French have long known the conſequence of it, though much to their coſt. The public may be amuſed with a notion that we have forts and ſettlements there already, as repreſented in ſome maps, publiſhed with great authority.—I can only ſay, that I wiſh either were true. Itinerant trading is not a ſettlement, in the ſenſe the Engliſh uſe the word, nor a houſe built of logs of wood,

wood, without order or artillery, or garriſon, a fort in any ſenſe."

The Ontario, on the ſouth-eaſt corner of which ſtands Oſwego, is thus deſcribed:

"Ontario, or Cataraqui, is a beautiful lake of freſh water, very deep, and has a moderate ſteep bank and gravelly ſhore along the ſouth ſide: the rivers which fall into it are apt to be ſometimes barred at the entrances. This, like the Mediterranean, the Caſpian, and other large invaſated waters, has a ſmall riſing and falling of the water like tides, ſome 12 or 18 inches perpendicular, occaſioned by the changes in the ſtate of the atmoſphere; riſing higher as the weight of the incumbent air is leſs, and falling as it becomes greater. This lake is beſt fitted for the paſſage of batteaux and canoes, along the ſouth ſide, the other having ſeveral rocks near the ſurface of the water; but the middle is every where ſafe for ſhipping. The ſnow is deeper on the ſouth ſide of this lake than any other place in theſe parts; but the lake does not freeze in the ſevereſt winter out of ſight of land. The ſtrait of Oghniágara, between the lake Ontario and Erie, is eaſily paſſable ſome five or ſix miles with any ſhips, or ten miles in all with canoes; then you are obliged to make a portage up three pretty ſharp hills about eight miles, where there is now cut a pretty good cart-way. This portage is made to avoid that ſtupendous fall of Oghniágara, which in one place precipitates five or ſix and twenty fathoms, and continues for ſix or ſeven miles more to tumble in little falls, and run with inconceivable rapidity. And indeed the ſtrait for a mile or two is ſo rapid above the fall, that it is not ſafe venturing near it. They embark again at the fiſhing battery, and thence to Lake Erie it is eighteen miles, and the ſtream ſo ſwift, that the

the ſtiffeſt gale is ſcarce ſufficient to ſtem it in a ſhip; but it is eaſily paſſed in canoes, where the current here, as in all other places, is leſs rapid along the ſhore.

"Lake Erie has a fine ſandy ſhore on the north ſide; and in many places ſuch on the other, eſpecially towards the ſouth-eaſt part. The weather and climate of this is far more moderate than that of Ontario."

He concludes his pamphlet with ſome obſervations which may be of great uſe in the preſent ſyſtem of European policy, but which will not prove that this ſyſtem is right; or in other words, that it is more productive than any other of univerſal happineſs.

"Were there nothing at ſtake between the crowns of Britain and France, but the lands on that part of the Ohio included in this map, we may reckon it as great a prize as has ever yet been contended for between two nations; but if we further obſerve, that this is ſcarce a quarter of the valuable land that is contained in one continued extent, and the influence that a ſtate, veſted with all the wealth and power that will naturally ariſe from the culture of ſo great an extent of good land in a happy climate, it will make ſo great an addition to that nation which wins it, where there is no third ſtate to hold the balance of power, that the loſer muſt inevitably ſink under his rival. It is not as two nations at war, contending the one for the other's habitations; where the conquered on ſubmiſſion would be admitted to partake of the privileges of the conquerors; but for a vaſt country, exceeding in extent and good land all the European dominions of Britain, France, and Spain, almoſt deſtitute of inhabitants, and will as faſt as the Europeans ſettle become more ſo of its former inhabitants. Had his Majeſty been made

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acquainted with its value, the large ſtrides the French have been making for ſeveral years paſt in their incroachments on his dominions, and the meaſures ſtill taken to keep the colonies diſunited, and of impeding the generous attempts of his moſt zealous ſubjects, it is impoſſible to conceive that his Majeſty would have ſacrificed, to the ſpleen of a few bitter ſpirits, the beſt gem in his crown. It is not yet too late to retrieve the whole, provided the Britiſh plantations are not thought to be grown already too large—if ſuch an opinion prevails, an opportunity now offers of ſoon making them leſs. We may reckon the repreſentation of the extent and power of the plantations being great, and that ſuch power may be dangerous to their mother-country, amongſt the greateſt of vulgar errors. Any perſon who knows the nature of the ſoil, and the extent of our ſettlements, will confeſs that all the lands worth the culture from New Hampſhire to Carolina, and extended as far back as there are planters ſettled within three or four miles of one another, though including nine colonies, is not equal in quantity to half the arable land in England. All the whites in the remainder of the Britiſh colonies on the continent ſcarce amount to 120,000 ſouls. How different is this from the conceits of thoſe who would repreſent ſome ſingle colonies as equal to all England! The Maſſachuſets, though made ſuch a bug-bear, as if its inhabitants were ſo rich and numerous as that they might one day be able to diſpute dominion with England, is not as large as Yorkſhire, nor has half ſo much arable land. Suppoſing the colonies were grown rich and powerful, what inducement have they to throw off their independency? national ties of blood and friendſhip, mutual dependencies for ſupport and aſſiſtance in their civil

vil and military intereſts with England; each colony having a particular form of government of its own, and the jealouſy of any one's having the ſuperiority over the reſt, are unſurmountable obſtacles to their ever uniting to the prejudice of England, upon any ambitious views of their own. But that repeated and continued ill uſage, infringements of their dear-bought privileges, ſacrificing them to the ambition and intrigues of domeſtic and foreign enemies, may not provoke them to do their utmoſt for their own preſervation I would not pretend to ſay, as weak as they are. But while they are treated as members of one body, and allowed their natural rights, it would be the height of madneſs for them to propoſe an independency, were they ever ſo ſtrong. If they had any ambitious views, a ſtrong colony, of a natural enemy to England, on their borders, would be the only article that would render any attempt of independency truly dangerous; and for that reaſon it becomes thoſe who would regard the future intereſt of Britain and its colonies, to ſuppreſs the growth of the French power, and not the Engliſh, in America.

"If his Majeſty would be pleaſed to appoint a colony to be made on the Ohio, with a ſeparate governor, and an equitable form of government, a full liberty of conſcience, and the ſame ſecured by charter, not all that the French could project would give it any impediment after a few years. The importance of ſuch a colony to Britain would be vaſtly great, ſince the climate, and its remoteneſs from the ſea, would turn it immediately to raiſing raw ſilk; an article of vaſt expence to our nation, which we are at continual difficulties and diſappointments in procuring. The charge of carriage of this article from the remoteſt parts of the

ſea,

ſea, is too inconſiderable to affect its value. Ohio is naturally furniſhed with ſalt, coal, limeſtone, grindſtone, millſtone, clay for glaſs-houſes and pottery, which are of vaſt advantage to an inland country, and well deſerving the notice I take of them in the map.

"In ſettling a colony there, let care be taken againſt the ſcandalous ingroſſing the land by private perſons or public companies—and for that purpoſe, let any piece of land left unimproved three years, after ſurveying, and containing more than 500 acres to a family, be free for any perſon to ſettle on; and the firſt owner be obliged to go further for land when diſpoſed to ſettle. And let all lands appropriated and lying unimproved or unſettled be liable to threefold taxes, compared with the adjacent improved lands of like goodneſs; for ſuppoſing one part be allotted for its true value, the remaining two thirds will be far ſhort, at a mean for making up the deficiency of the exciſe, duties, watching, civil and military ſervices, of thoſe who truly ſettle and improve."

Upon theſe pompous paragraphs, let a man, whoſe courſe of life has acquainted him very little with American affairs, venture to make a few obſervations.

This great country, for which we are ſo warmly incited to contend, will not be honeſtly our own though we keep it from the French. It will indeed, he ſays, be deſerted by its inhabitants, and we ſhall then have an addition of land greater than a fourth part of Europe. This is magnificent in proſpect, but will loſe much of its beauty on a nearer view. An increaſe of lands without increaſe of people gives no increaſe of power or of wealth, but lies open to aſſaults without defenders, and may diſgrace thoſe who loſe it, without enriching thoſe who gain it.

It is indeed ſuppoſed by our author to receive inhabitants from Europe; but we muſt remember that it will very little advance the power of the Engliſh to plant colonies on the Ohio by diſpeopling their native country. And ſince the end of all human actions is happineſs, why ſhould any number of our inhabitants be baniſhed from their trades and their homes to a trackleſs deſart, where life is to begin anew, and where they can have no other accommodation than their own hands ſhall immediately procure them? What advantage, even upon ſuppoſition of what is ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed, an uninterrupted poſſeſſion and unimpeded improvement, can ariſe equivalent to the exile of the firſt planters, and difficulties to be encountered by their immediate deſcendants?

We have at home more land than we cultivate, and more materials than we manufacture; by proper regulations we may employ all our people, and give every man his chance of riſing to the full enjoyment of all the pleaſures and advantages of a civilized and learned country.

I know not indeed, whether we can at home procure any great quantity of raw ſilk, which we are told is to be had in ſo great plenty upon the banks of the Ohio. Away therefore with thouſands and millions to thoſe dreadful deſarts, that we may no longer want raw ſilk! Who that had not obſerved how much one train of thought ſometimes occupies the mind, could think ſo wild a project ſeriouſly propoſed?

The fear that the American colonies will break off their dependence on England, I have always thought, with this writer, chimerical and vain. Yet though he endeavours for his preſent purpoſe to ſhow the abſurdity of ſuch ſuſpicions, he does not omit to hint at ſome-

ſomething that is to be feared if they are not well uſed. Every man and every ſociety is intitled to all the happineſs that can be enjoyed with the ſecurity of the whole community. From this general claim the Americans ought not to be excluded: but let us not be frightened by their threats; they muſt be yet dependant: and if they forſake us, or be forſaken by us, muſt fall into the hands of France.

An Eſſay on the writings and genius of POPE.

THIS is a very curious and entertaining miſcellany of critical remarks and literary hiſtory. Though the book promiſes nothing but obſervations on the writings of Pope, yet no opportunity is neglected of introducing the character of any other writer, or the mention of any performance or event in which learning is intereſted. From Pope, however, he always takes his hint, and to Pope he returns again from his digreſſions. The facts which he mentions, though they are ſeldom anecdotes in a rigorous ſenſe, are often ſuch as are very little known, and ſuch as will delight more readers than naked criticiſm.

As he examines the works of this great poet in an order nearly chronological, he neceſſarily begins with his paſtorals, which conſidered as repreſentations of any kind of life, he very juſtly cenſures; for there is in them a mixture of Grecian and Engliſh, of ancient and modern, images. Windſor is coupled with Hybla, and Thames with Pactolus. He then compares ſome paſſages which Pope has

has imitated or tranſlated with the imitation or verſion, and gives the preference to the originals, perhaps not always upon convincing arguments.

Theocritus makes his lover wiſh to be a bee, that he might creep among the leaves that form the chaplet of his miſtreſs. Pope's enamoured ſwain longs to be made the captive bird that ſings in his fair one's bower, that ſhe might liſten to his ſongs, and reward them with her kiſſes. The critic prefers the image of Theocritus as more wild, more delicate, and more uncommon.

It is natural for a lover to wiſh that he might be any thing that could come near to his lady. But we more naturally deſire to be that which ſhe fondles and careſſes, than that which ſhe would avoid, at leaſt would neglect. The ſuperior delicacy of Theocritus I cannot diſcover, nor can indeed find, that either in the one or the other image there is any want of delicacy. Which of the two images was leſs common in the time of the poet who uſed it, for on that conſideration the merit of novelty depends, I think it is now out of any critic's power to decide.

He remarks, I am afraid with too much juſtice, that there is not a ſingle new thought in the paſtorals; and with equal reaſon declares, that their chief beauty conſiſts in their correct and muſical verſification, which has ſo influenced the Engliſh ear, as to render every moderate rhymer harmonious.

In his examination of the Meſſiah, he juſtly obſerves ſome deviations from the inſpired author, which weaken the imagery, and deſpirit the expreſſion.

On Windſor-foreſt, he declares, I think without proof, that deſcriptive poetry was by no means the excellence of Pope; he draws this inference from the few

few images introduced in this poem, which would not equally belong to any other place. He muſt inquire whether Windſor-foreſt has in reality any thing peculiar.

The Stag-chaſe is not, he ſays, ſo full, ſo animated, and ſo circumſtantiated as Somerville's. Barely to ſay, that one performance is not ſo good as another, is to criticiſe with little exactneſs. But Pope has directed that we ſhould in every work regard the author's end. The Stag-chaſe is the main ſubject of Somerville, and might therefore be properly dilated into all its circumſtances; in Pope it is only incidental, and was to be diſpatched in a few lines.

He makes a juſt obſervation, "that the deſcription of the external beauties of nature is uſually the firſt effect of a young genius, before he hath ſtudied nature and paſſions. Some of Milton's moſt early as well as moſt exquiſite pieces are his Lycidas, l'Allegro, and Il penſeroſo, if we may except his ode on the nativity of CHRIST, which is indeed prior in order of time, and in which a penetrating critic might have obſerved the ſeeds of that boundleſs imagination which was one day to produce the Paradiſe Loſt."

Mentioning Thomſon and other deſcriptive poets, he remarks, that writers fail in their copies for want of acquaintance with originals, and juſtly ridicules thoſe who think they can form juſt ideas of valleys, mountains, and rivers, in a garret of the Strand. For this reaſon I cannot regret with this author, that Pope laid aſide his deſign of writing American paſtorals; for as he muſt have painted ſcenes which he never ſaw, and manners which he never knew, his performance, though it might have been a pleaſing amuſement of fancy,

would have exhibited no repreſentation of nature or of life.

After the paſtorals, the critic conſiders the lyric poetry of Pope, and dwells longeſt on the ode of St Cecilia's day, which he, like the reſt of mankind, places next to that of Dryden, and not much below it. He remarks after Mr Spence, that the firſt ſtanza is a perfect concert. The ſecond he thinks a little flat; he juſtly commends the fourth, but without notice of the beſt line in that ſtanza or in the poem:

Tranſported demigods ſtood round,
And men grew heroes at the ſound.

In the latter part of the ode he objects to the ſtanza of triumph:

Thus ſong could reveal, &c.

As written in a meaſure ridiculous and burleſque, and juſtifies his anſwer by obſerving that Addiſon uſes the ſame numbers in the ſcene of Roſamond, between Grideline and Sir Truſty:

How unhappy is he, &c.

That the meaſure is the ſame in both paſſages muſt be confeſſed, and both poets perhaps choſe their numbers properly; for they both meant to expreſs a kind of airy hilarity. The two paſſions of merriment and exultation are undoubtedly different; they are as different as a gambol and a triumph, but each is a ſpecies of joy; and poetical meaſures have not in any language been ſo far refined as to provide for the ſubdiviſions of paſſion. They can only be adapted to general purpoſes; but the particular and minuter propriety muſt be ſought only in the ſentiment and language. Thus the numbers are the ſame in Colin's complaint, and in the ballad of Darby and Joan, though in one ſadneſs is repreſented, and in the other tranquillity; ſo the meaſure is the

ſame

ſame of Pope's Unfortunate Lady and the Praiſe of Voiture.

He obſerves very juſtly, that the odes both of Dryden and Pope conclude unſuitably and unnaturally with epigram.

He then ſpends a page upon Mr Handel's muſic to Dryden's ode, and ſpeaks of him with that regard which he has generally obtained among the lovers of ſound. He finds ſomething amiſs in the air "With raviſhed ears," but has overlooked or forgotten the groſſeſt fault in that compoſition, which is that in this line,

Revenge, revenge, Timotheus cries.

He has laid much ſtreſs upon the two latter words, which are merely words of connection, and ought in muſic to be conſidered as parenthetical.

From this ode is ſtruck out a digreſſion on the nature of odes, and the comparative excellence of the ancients and moderns. He mentions the chorus which Pope wrote for the duke of Buckingham; and thence takes occaſion to treat of the chorus of the ancients. He then comes to another ode of "The dying Chriſtian to his Soul," in which finding an apparent imitation of Flatman, he falls into a pleaſing and learned ſpeculation on the reſembling paſſages to be found in different poets.

He mentions with great regard Pope's ode on Solitude, written when he was but twelve years old, but omits to mention the poem on Silence, compoſed, I think, as early, with much greater elegance of diction, muſic of numbers, extent of obſervation, and force of thought. If he had happened to think on Baillet's chapter of Enfans celebres, he might have made on this occaſion a very entertaining diſſertation on early excellence.

He comes next to the Eſſay on Criticiſm, the ſtupen-

dous performance of a youth not yet twenty years old; and after having detailed the felicities of condition, to which he imagines Pope to have owed his wonderful prematurity of mind, he tells us that he is well informed this eſſay was firſt written in proſe. There is nothing improbable in the report, nothing indeed but what is more likely than the contrary; yet I cannot forbear to hint to this writer and all others, the danger and weakneſs of truſting too readily to information. Nothing but experience could evince the frequency of falſe information, or enable any man to conceive that ſo many groundleſs reports ſhould be propagated as every man of eminence may hear of himſelf. Some men relate what they think as what they know; ſome men of confuſed memories and habitual inaccuracy aſcribe to one man what belongs to another; and ſome talk on without thought or care. A few men are ſufficient to broach falſehoods, which are afterwards innocently diffuſed by ſucceſſive relaters.

He proceeds on examining paſſage after paſſage of this eſſay; but we muſt paſs over all theſe criticiſms to which we have not ſomething to add or to object, or where this author does not differ from the general voice of mankind. We cannot agree with him in his cenſure of the compariſon of a ſtudent advancing in ſcience with a traveller paſſing the Alps, which is perhaps the beſt ſimile in our language; that in which the moſt exact reſemblance is traced between things in appearance utterly unrelated to each other. That the laſt line conveys no new *idea*, is not true; it makes particular what was before general. Whether the deſcription which he adds from another author be, as he ſays, more full and ſtriking than that of Pope, is not to be inquired. Pope's deſcription is relative, and can admit

admit no greater length than is uſually allowed to a ſimile, nor any other particulars than ſuch as form the correſpondence.

Unvaried rhymes, ſays this writer, highly diſguſt readers of a good ear. It is ſurely not the ear but the mind that is offended. The fault riſing from the uſe of common rhymes is, that by reading the paſt line the ſecond may be gueſſed, and half the compoſition loſes the grace of novelty.

On occaſion of the mention of an alexandrine, the critic obſerves, that "the alexandrine may be thought a modern meaſure, but that Robert of Glouceſter's wife is an alexandrine, with the addition of two ſyllables; and that Sternhold and Hopkins tranſlated the pſalms in the ſame meaſure of fourteen ſyllables, though they are printed otherwiſe."

This ſeems not to be accurately conceived or expreſſed: an alexandrine with the addition of two ſyllables, is no more an alexandrine than with the detraction of two ſyllables. Sternhold and Hopkins did generally write in the alternate meaſure of eight and ſix ſyllables; but Hopkins commonly rhymed the firſt and third, Sternhold only the ſecond and fourth: ſo that Sternhold may be conſidered as writing couplets of long lines; but Hopkins wrote regular ſtanzas. From the practice of printing the long lines of fourteen ſyllables in two ſhort lines, aroſe the licence of ſome of our poets, who, though profeſſing to write in ſtanzas, neglect the rhymes of the firſt and third lines.

Pope has mentioned Petronius among the great names of criticiſm, as the remarker juſtly obſerves without any critical merit. It is to be ſuſpected that Pope had never read his book, and mentioned him on the credit of two or three ſentences which he had often

ſeen quoted, imagining that where there was ſo much there muſt neceſſarily be more. Young men in haſte to be renowned, too frequently talk of books which they have ſcarcely ſeen.

The revival of learning mentioned in this poem, affords an opportunity of mentioning the chief periods of literary hiſtory, of which this writer reckons five; that of Alexander, of Ptolemy Philadelphus, of Auguſtus, of Leo the tenth, of Queen Anne.

Theſe obſervations are concluded with a remark which deſerves great attention: "In no poliſhed nation, after criticiſm has been much ſtudied, and the rules of writing eſtabliſhed, has any very extraordinary book ever appeared."

The Rape of the Lock was always regarded by Pope as the higheſt production of his genius. On occaſion of this work, the hiſtory of the comic hero is given; and we are told that it deſcended from Faſſoni to Boileau, from Boileau to Garth, and from Garth to Pope. Garth is mentioned perhaps with too much honour; but all are confeſſed to be inferior to Pope. There is in his remarks on this work no diſcovery of any latent beauty, nor any thing ſubtle or ſtriking; he is indeed commonly right, but has diſcuſſed no difficult queſtion.

The next pieces to be conſidered are the Verſes to the Memory of an unfortunate Lady, the Prologue to Cato, and Epilogue to Jane Shore. The firſt piece he commends. On occaſion of the ſecond he digreſſes, according to his cuſtom, into a learned diſſertation on tragedies, and compares the Engliſh and French with the Greek ſtage. He juſtly cenſures Cato for want of action and of characters; but ſcarcely does juſtice to the ſublimity of ſome ſpeeches and the philoſophical exactneſs

exactneſs in the ſentiments. "The ſimile of mount Atlas, and that of the Numidian traveller ſmothered in the ſands, are indeed in character," ſays the critic, "but ſufficiently obvious." The ſimile of the mountain is indeed common; but of that of the traveller I do not remember. That it is obvious is eaſy to ſay, and eaſy to deny. Many things are obvious when they are taught.

He proceeds to criticiſe the other works of Addiſon, till the epilogue calls his attention to Rowe, whoſe character he diſcuſſes in the ſame manner with ſufficient freedom and ſufficient candour.

The tranſlation of the epiſtle of Sappho to Phaon is next conſidered: but Sappho and Ovid are more the ſubjects of this diſquiſition than Pope. We ſhall therefore paſs over it to a piece of more importance, the Epiſtle of Eloiſa to Abelard, which may juſtly be regarded as one of the works on which the reputation of Pope will ſtand in future times.

The critic purſues Eloiſa through all the changes of paſſion, produces the paſſages of her letters to which any alluſion is made, and interſperſes many agreeable particulars and incidental relations. There is not much profundity of criticiſm, becauſe the beauties are ſentiments of nature, which the learned and the ignorant feel alike. It is juſtly remarked by him, that the wiſh of Eloiſa for the happy paſſage of Abelard into the other world, is formed according to the ideas of myſtic devotion.

Theſe are the pieces examined in this volume: whether the remaining part of the work will be one volume or more, perhaps the writer himſelf cannot yet inform us. This piece is, however, a complete work, ſo far as it goes; and the writer is of opinion that he

has diſpatched the chief part of his taſk: for he ventures to remark, that the reputation of Pope as a poet, among poſterity, will be principally founded on his Windſor-Foreſt, Rape of the Lock, and Eloiſa to Abelard; while the facts and characters alluded to in his late writings will be forgotten and unknown, and their poignancy and propriety little reliſhed; for wit and ſatire are tranſitory and periſhable, but nature and paſſion are eternal.

He has interſperſed ſome paſſages of Pope's life, with which moſt readers will be pleaſed. When Pope was yet a child, his father, who had been a merchant in London, retired to Binfield. He was taught to read by an aunt; and learned to write without a maſter, by copying printed books. His father uſed to order him to make Engliſh verſes, and would oblige him to correct and retouch them over and over, and at laſt could ſay, "Theſe are good rhymes."

At eight years of age, he was committed to one Taverner a prieſt, who taught him the rudiments of the Latin and Greek. At this time he met with Ogleby's Homer, which ſeized his attention; he fell next upon Sandys's Ovid, and remembered theſe two tranſlations with pleaſure to the end of his life.

About ten, being at ſchool near Hyde-park-corner, he was taken to the play-houſe, and was ſo ſtruck with the ſplendour of the drama, that he formed a kind of play out of Ogleby's Homer, intermixed with verſes of his own. He perſuaded the head-boys to act this piece, and Ajax was performed by his maſter's gardener. They were habited according to the pictures in Ogleby. At twelve he retired with his father to Windſor-Foreſt, and formed himſelf by the ſtudy in the beſt Engliſh poets.

In

In this extract it was thought convenient to dwell chiefly upon ſuch obſervations as relate immediately to Pope, without deviating with the author into incidental inquiries. We intend to kindle, not to extinguiſh, curioſity, by this ſlight ſketch of a work abounding with curious quotations and pleaſing diſquiſitions. He muſt be much acquainted with literary hiſtory, both of remote and late times, who does not find in this eſſay many things which he did not know before: and if there be any too learned to be inſtructed in facts or opinions, he may yet properly read this book as a juſt ſpecimen of literary moderation.

Miſcellanies on Moral and Religious Subjects, in Proſe and Verſe. By ELIZABETH HARRISON.

THIS volume, though only one name appears upon the firſt page, has been produced by the contribution of many hands, and printed by the encouragement of a numerous ſubſcription; both which favours ſeem to be deſerved by the modeſty and piety of her on whom they were beſtowed.

The authors of the eſſays in proſe ſeem generally to have imitated, or tried to imitate, the copiouſneſs and luxuriance of Mrs Rowe. This, however, is not all their praiſe; they have laboured to add to her brightneſs of imagery her purity of ſentiments. The poets have

have had Dr Watts before their eyes; a writer who, if he ſtood not in the firſt claſs of genius, compenſated that defect by a ready application of his powers to the promotion of piety. The attempt to employ the ornaments of romance in the decoration of religion, was, I think, firſt made by Mr Boyle's Martyrdom of Theodora; but Boyle's philoſophical ſtudies did not allow him time for the cultivation of ſtyle; and the completion of the great deſign was reſerved for Mrs Rowe. Dr Watts was one of the firſt who taught the diſſenters to write and ſpeak like other men, by ſhowing them that elegance might conſiſt with piety. They would have both done honour to a better ſociety; for they had that charity which might well make their failings forgotten, and with which the whole Chriſtian world might wiſh for communion. They were pure from all the hereſies of an age, to which every opinion is become a favourite, that the univerſal church has hitherto deteſted.

This praiſe the general intereſt of mankind requires to be given to writers who pleaſe and do not corrupt, who inſtruct and do not weary. But to them all human eulogies are vain, whom I believe applauded by angels and numbered with the juſt.

The

The Dedication of the Evangelical Hiſtory Harmonized.

TO THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL, AND COMMONS, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

THAT we are fallen upon an age in which corruption is barely not univerſal, is univerſally confeſſed. Venality ſculks no longer in the dark, but ſnatches the bribe in public; and proſtitution iſſues forth without ſhame, glittering with the ornaments of ſucceſsful wickedneſs. Rapine prays on the public without oppoſition, and perjury betrays it without inquiry. Irreligion is not only avowed but boaſted; and the peſtilence that uſed to walk in darkneſs, is now deſtroying at noon-day.

Shall this be the ſtate of the Engliſh nation, and ſhall her lawgivers behold it without regard? Muſt the torrent continue to roll on till it ſhall ſweep us into the bottomleſs gulph of perdition? Surely there will come a time when the careleſs ſhall be frighted, and the ſluggiſh ſhall be rouſed; when every paſſion ſhall be put upon the guard by the dread of general depravity: when he who laughs at wickedneſs in his companion, ſhall ſtart from it in his child; when the man who fears not for his ſoul, ſhall tremble for his poſſeſſions: when it ſhall be diſcovered that religion only

can

can ſecure the rich from robbery and the poor from oppreſſion; can defend the ſtate from treachery and the throne from aſſaſſination.

If this time be ever to come let it come quickly: a few years longer, and perhaps all endeavours will be vain. We may be ſwallowed by an earthquake; we may be delivered to our enemies, or abandoned to that diſcord which muſt inevitably prevail among men that have loſt all ſenſe of divine ſuperintendence, and have no higher motive of action or forbearance than preſent opinion of preſent intereſt.

It is the duty of private men to ſupplicate and propoſe; it is yours to hear and to do right. Let religion be once more reſtored, and the nation ſhall once more be great and happy. This conſequence is not far diſtant: that nation muſt always be powerful where every man performs his duty; and every man will perform his duty that conſiders himſelf as a being whoſe condition is to be ſettled to all eternity by the laws of Chriſt.

The only doctrine by which man can be made *wiſe unto ſalvation*, is the will of God, revealed in the books of the Old and the New Teſtament.

To ſtudy the Scriptures, therefore, according to his abilities and attainments, is every man's duty: and to facilitate that ſtudy to thoſe whom nature hath made weak, or education has left ignorant, or indiſpenſable cares detained from regular proceſſes of inquiry, is the buſineſs of thoſe who have been bleſſed with abilities and learning, and appointed the inſtructors of the lower claſſes of men, by that common Father who diſtributes to all created beings their qualifications and employments; and has allotted ſome to the labour of the hand, and ſome to the exerciſe of the mind; has commanded

manded ſome to teach, and others to learn; has preſcribed to ſome the patience of inſtruction, and to others the meekneſs of obedience.

By what methods the unenlightened ignorant may be made proper readers of the word of God, has been long and diligently conſidered. Commentaries of all kinds have indeed been copiouſly produced: but there ſtill remain multitudes to whom the labours of the learned are of little uſe, for whom expoſitions require an expoſitor. To thoſe indeed who read the divine books without vain curioſity, or a deſire to be wiſe beyond their powers, it will always be eaſy to diſcern the ſtraight path, to find the words of everlaſting life. But ſuch is the condition of our nature, that we are always attempting what is difficult to perform: he who reads the Scripture to gain goodneſs, is deſirous likewiſe to gain knowledge, and by his impatience of ignorance falls into error.

This danger has appeared to the doctors of the Romiſh church ſo much to be feared, and ſo difficult to be eſcaped, that they have ſnatched the Bible out of the hands of the people, and confined the liberty of peruſing it to thoſe whom literature has previouſly qualified. By this expedient they have formed a kind of uniformity, I am afraid, too much like that of colours in the dark: but they have certainly uſurped a power which God has never given them, and precluded great numbers from the higheſt ſpiritual conſolation.

I know not whether this prohibition has not brought upon them an evil which they themſelves have not diſcovered. It is granted, I believe, by the Romaniſts themſelves, that the beſt commentaries on the Bible have been the works of Proteſtants. I know not indeed whether, ſince the celebrated paraphraſe of Eraſmus,

mus, any ſcholar has appeared amongſt them whoſe works are much valued, even in his own communion. Why have thoſe who excel in every other kind of knowledge, to whom the world owes much of the increaſe of light which has ſhone upon theſe latter ages, failed, and failed only when they have attempted to explain the Scriptures of God? but only becauſe they are in their church leſs read and leſs examined, becauſe they have another rule of deciding controverſies and inſtituting laws.

Of the Bible, ſome of the books are prophetical, ſome doctrinal, and ſome hiſtorical; ſome partly doctrinal and partly hiſtorical, as the goſpels, of which we have in the ſubſequent pages attempted an illuſtration. The books of the evangeliſts contain an account of the life of our bleſſed Saviour; more particulary of the years of his miniſtry, interſperſed with his precepts, doctrines, and predictions. Each of theſe hiſtories contains facts and dictates related likewiſe in the reſt, that the truth might be eſtabliſhed by concurrence of teſtimony; and each has likewiſe facts and dictates which the reſt omit, to prove that they were wrote without communication.

Theſe writers, not affecting the exactneſs of chronologers, and relating various events of the ſame life, or the ſame events with various circumſtances, have ſome difficulties to him, who, without the help of many books, deſires to collect a ſeries of the acts and precepts of Jeſus Chriſt; fully to know his life, whoſe example was given for our imitation; fully to underſtand his precepts, which it is ſure deſtruction to diſobey.

In this work, therefore, an attempt has been made, by the help of harmoniſts and expoſitors, to reduce the

four

four goſpels into one ſeries of narration; to form a complete hiſtory out of the different narratives of the evangeliſts, by inſerting every event in the order of time, and connecting every precept of life and doctrine with the occaſion on which it was delivered; ſhowing, as far as hiſtory or the knowledge of ancient cuſtoms can inform us, the reaſon and propriety of every action; and explaining, or endeavouring to explain, every precept and declaration in its true meaning.

Let it not be haſtily concluded, that we intend to ſubſtitute this book for the goſpels, or intrude our own expoſitions as the oracles of God. We recommend to the unlearned reader to conſult us when he finds any difficulty, as men who have laboured not to deceive ourſelves, and who are without any temptation to deceive him: but men, however, that while they mean beſt, may be miſtaken. Let him be careful, therefore, to diſtinguiſh what we cite from the goſpels from what we offer of our own. He will find many difficulties anſwered; and if ſome yet remain, let him remember that God is in heaven and we upon earth, that our thoughts are not God's thoughts, and that the great cure of doubt is an humble mind.

The Dedication of Kennedy's Scripture Chronology.

TO THE KING.

SIR,

HAVING, by long labour and diligent inquiry, endeavoured to illuſtrate and eſtabliſh the chronology of the Bible, I hope to be pardoned the ambition of inſcribing my Work to your Majeſty.

An age of war is not often an age of learning; the tumult and anxiety of military preparations ſeldom leave attention vacant to the ſilent progreſs of ſtudy, and the placid conqueſts of inveſtigation. Yet, ſurely, a vindication of the inſpired writers can never be unſeaſonably offered to the Defender of the Faith; nor can it ever be improper to promote that religion without which all other bleſſings are ſnares of deſtruction; without which armies cannot make us ſafe, nor victories make us happy.

I am far from imagining that my teſtimony can add any thing to the honours of your Majeſty, to the ſplendour of a reign crowded with triumphs, to the beauty of a life dignified by virtue. I can only wiſh, that your reign may long continue ſuch as it has begun, and that the effulgence of your example may ſpread its light

light through diſtant ages, till it ſhall be the higheſt praiſe of any future monarch, that he exhibits ſome reſemblance of George the Third.

I am,
SIR,
Your Majeſty's
Moſt obedient,
Moſt devoted, and
Moſt humble ſubject,
and Servant,

JOHN KENNEDY.

THE STORY OF THE COCK-LANE GHOST, WITH THE ACCOUNT OF ITS DETECTION.

The following account of the noiſes and other extraordinary circumſtances attending the ſuppoſed preſence of a ghoſt in Cock-lane, 1762, together with the detection of that impoſture, are tranſcribed from the Gentleman's Magazine, and were drawn up by Johnſon. It was to him that the ſpirit promiſed to give a token of its preſence by a knock upon the coffin; and it was he who, accompanied with one other perſon, deſcended into the vault to claim the promiſe. For his ſuperſtitious credulity on that and other occaſions, he incurred much ridicule from men whoſe inferiority of talents would have made them trem-

ble in his preſence; but who hoped, when he was abſent, to wound Religion in the perſon of her ableſt advocate. The friends of revelation will be pleaſed to find, that in this inſtance he was not ſo weakly credulous as is generally imagined; and that though he was never diſpoſed to preſcribe rules to Providence, or to limit the power of God, he was yet careful to inveſtigate the evidence of every thing pretending to be ſupernatural, and to proportion his faith accordingly.

BETWEEN the hours of eleven and twelve at night, a gentleman was ſent for to the houſe of one Parſons, officiating pariſh-clerk of St Sepulchre's in Cock-lane, near Weſt Smithfield, to be witneſs to the noiſes and other extraordinary circumſtances attending the ſuppoſed preſence of a ſpirit, that for theſe two years paſt has been heard in the night, to the great terror of the family. To throw ſome light upon this very myſterious affair, we ſhall begin with the narrative of Mr Brown of Amen Corner, publiſhed January 23d; the ſubſtance of which is as follows:

That in 1759, one Mr K— employed an agent to carry a letter to a young gentlewoman of a reputable family in Norfolk, and to bring her up to London in a poſt-chaiſe, if ſhe ſhould be willing to come; that ſhe did come, but Mr K— being at Greenwich, ſhe followed him there directly, and was received by him, after a journey of 100 miles performed in one day, with much tenderneſs. After ſome ſhort ſtay at Greenwich, where it was thought neceſſary that ſhe ſhould make a will in his favour, ſhe was removed to a lodging near the Manſion-houſe; from thence to lodgings behind St Sepulchre's church; and laſtly, to a houſe in Bartlet court, in the pariſh of Clerkenwell. Here in 1760, ſhe was taken

ken ill of the ſmall-pox; and on or about the 31ſt of January, her ſiſter, who lived reputably in Pall Mall, was firſt made acquainted with her illneſs and place of reſidence; and being overjoyed to hear of her, went immediately to ſee her, and found her in a fair way of doing well. Next day ſhe ſent to her, and received a favourable account of her; but on the morning following, word was brought that her ſiſter was dead. She died Feb. 2d, 1760, and was buried in two or three days after at the church of St John, Clerkenwell, her ſiſter attending the funeral, who was ſurpriſed at not ſeeing a plate on the coffin, and expreſſed that ſurpriſe to Mr Brown after the funeral was over; lamenting, at the ſame time, that ſhe had not been permitted to ſee her ſiſter's corpſe, the coffin being ſcrewed down before ſhe came. She added, that K— had married one of her ſiſter's, and had ruined the other, who was buried by the name of ——, as appears by the pariſh regiſter. By the will already mentioned, K— availed himſelf of her fortune, to the prejudice of her brother and ſiſters, who all lived in perfect harmony until this unhappy affair happened. Such is the account given by Mr Brown of Amen Corner. A worthy clergyman, however, who attended her ſeveral times, and who adminiſtered to her the laſt comforts of his function, declares, that the ſmall-pox with which ſhe was ſeized, was of the confluent ſort, and that the gentlemen of the faculty who attended her, had pronounced her irrecoverable ſome days before her death.

It is, however, the ghoſt of this perſon that Parſons declares has taken poſſeſſion of his girl, a child about 12 years old, who lay with the deceaſed in the abſence of her ſuppoſed huſband, when he was in the country at a wedding about two years ago, and then it was that

the knocking was firſt heard, to the great terror of this child; ſhe frequently crying out that ſhe might not be taken away. Soon after this woman died, whoſe apparition is now ſuppoſed to appear to this ſame child; and in anſwer to the queſtion put to her on Tueſday night, What was the occaſion of the firſt knocking, &c. before ſhe died? anſwered, that it was the ſpirit of her ſiſter, the firſt wife of Mr K—, who was huſband to them both.

Having now ſufficiently prepared the reader, we ſhall proceed in our narrative: The gentleman already ſaid to have been ſent for, attended, and found the child in bed, and the ſpirit being at hand, ſeveral queſtions were put to it by the father, which to avoid repetition, we ſhall relate hereafter. The gentleman not caring to pronounce too haſtily upon what appeared to him extraordinary, got ſome friends together, among whom were two or three clergymen, about twenty other perſons, and two negroes, and ſat up another night.

They firſt thoroughly examined the bed, bed-cloaths, &c. and being ſatisfied that there was no viſible appearance of a deceit, the child, with its ſiſter, was put into bed, which was found to ſhake extremely by the gentleman who had placed himſelf at the foot of it.

Among others, the following queſtions were aſked, Whether the diſturbance was occaſioned by any ill treatment from Mr K—? yes. Whether ſhe was brought to an untimely end by poiſon? yes.—In what was the poiſon adminiſtered, beer or purl? purl.—How long before her death? three hours.—Is the perſon called Carrots able to give information about the poiſon? yes.—Whether ſhe was K—'s wife's ſiſter? yes.—Whether ſhe was married to K—? no.—Whether any other perſon than K— were concerned in the poiſoning? no.—Whether ſhe could viſibly

ſibly appear to any one? yes.—Whether ſhe would do ſo? yes.—Whether ſhe could go out of that houſe? yes.—Whether ſhe would follow the child every where? yes.—Whether ſhe was pleaſed in being aſked queſtions? yes.—Whether it eaſed her mind? yes.—[Here a myſterious noiſe, compared to the fluttering of wings round the room, was heard.]—How long before her death had ſhe told Carrots (her ſervant) that ſhe was poiſoned? one hour.—[Here Carrots, who was admitted to be one of the company on Tueſday night, aſſerted that the deceaſed had not told her ſo, ſhe being at that time ſpeechleſs.]—How long did Carrots live with her? three or four days.—[Carrots atteſted the truth of this.]—Whether if the accuſed ſhould be taken up he would confeſs? yes.—Whether ſhe ſhould be at eaſe in her mind if the man was hanged? yes.—How long it would be before he would be executed? three years.—How many clergymen were in the room? three.—How many negroes? two.—Whether ſhe could diſtinguiſh the perſon of any one in the room? yes.—Whether the colour of a watch held up by one of the clergy was white, yellow, blue, or black,? anſwered black. [The watch was in a black ſhaggreen caſe.]—At what time ſhe would depart in the morning? at four o'clock.—[Accordingly, at this hour the noiſe removed to the Wheat-ſheaf, a public houſe, at the diſtance of a few doors, in the bed-chamber of my landlord and landlady, to the great affright and terror of them both.—Such is the manner of interrogating the ſpirit; the anſwer is given by knocking or ſcratching. An affirmative is one knock; a negative, two. Diſpleaſure is expreſſed by ſcratching.

As the impoſtor will probably ſoon be diſcovered, let this ſhort detail ſuffice to ſhow the tendency of it: the whole of the nonſenſe would fill a magazine.

* * * * * *

HAVING in our laſt given a ſhort hiſtory of the impoſtor in Cock-lane, we are under a neceſſity of giving an account of the method taken for the detection of the fraud, which though in a great meaſure eluded by the cunning of the girl who is the principal agent, and by the obſtinacy of the father, who perhaps was the contriver of it; yet it had ſuch an effect as to convince all preſent, that the girl has ſome art of counterfeiting particular noiſes, and that there is nothing preternatural in the reſponſes that are given to the queriſts on this occaſion.

On the night of the 1ſt of February, many gentlemen, eminent for their rank and character, were, by the invitation of the Rev. Mr Aldrich of Clerkenwell, aſſembled at his houſe, for the examination of the noiſes ſuppoſed to be made by a departed ſpirit, for the detection of ſome enormous crime.

About ten at night, the gentlemen met in the chamber, in which the girl, ſuppoſed to be diſturbed by a ſpirit, had, with proper caution, been put to bed by ſeveral ladies. They ſat rather more than an hour, and hearing nothing, went down ſtairs, when they interrogated the father of the girl, who denied, in the ſtrongeſt terms, any knowledge or belief of fraud.

The ſuppoſed ſpirit had before publicly promiſed by an affirmative knock, that it would attend one of the gentlemen into the vault under the church of St John, Clerkenwell, where the body is depoſited, and give a token of her preſence there by a knock upon her coffin: it was therefore determined to make this trial of the exiſtence or veracity of the ſuppoſed ſpirit.

While

While they were inquiring and deliberating, they were ſummoned into the girl's chamber by ſome ladies, who were near her bed, and who had heard knocks and ſcratches. When the gentlemen entered, the girl declared, that ſhe felt the ſpirit like a mouſe upon her back, and was required to hold her hands out of bed. From that time, though the ſpirit was very ſolemnly required to manifeſt its exiſtence, by appearance, by impreſſion on the hand or body of any preſent, by ſcratches, knocks, or any other agency, no evidence of any preternatural power was exhibited.

The ſpirit was then very ſeriouſly advertiſed, that the perſon to whom the promiſe was made of ſtriking the coffin, was then about to viſit the vault, and that the performance of the promiſe was then claimed. The company at one o'clock went into the church, and the gentleman, to whom the promiſe was made, went, with one more, into the vault. The ſpirit was ſolemnly required to perform its promiſe, but nothing more than ſilence enſued: the perſon ſuppoſed to be accuſed by the ſpirit then went down with ſeveral others, but no effect was perceived. Upon their return they examined the girl, but could draw no confeſſion from her. Between two and three ſhe deſired, and was permitted, to go home with her father.

It was therefore the opinion of the whole aſſembly, that the child has ſome art of making or counterfeiting particular noiſe, and that there is no agency of any higher cauſe.

LETTERS.

To DR LAWRENCE.

DEAR SIR,

AT a time when all your friends ought to ſhow their kindneſs, and with a character which ought to make all that know you your friends, you may wonder that you have yet heard nothing of me.

I have been hindered by a vexatious and inceſſant cough; for which, within theſe ten days, I have bled once, faſted four or five times, taken phyſic five times, and opiates, I think, ſix. This day it ſeems to remit.

The loſs, dear Sir, which you have lately ſuffered, I felt many years ago; and know therefore how much has been taken from you, and how little help can be had from conſolation. He who outlives a wife whom he has long loved, ſees himſelf disjoined from the only mind that had the ſame hopes, and fears, and intereſt; from the only companion with whom he has ſhared much good or evil, and with whom he could ſet his mind at liberty to retrace the paſt, or anticipate the future. The continuity of being is lacerated; the ſettled courſe of ſentiment and action is ſtopped; and life ſtands ſuſpended and motionleſs, till it is driven by

by external cauſes into a new channel. But the time of ſuſpenſe is dreadful.

Our firſt recourſe in this diſtreſsful ſolitude, is, perhaps, for want of habitual piety, to a gloomy acquieſcence in neceſſity. Of two mortal beings, one muſt loſe the other. But ſurely there is a higher and a better comfort to be drawn from the conſideration of that Providence which watches over all; and belief that the living and the dead are equally in the hands of God, who will reunite thoſe whom he has ſeparated, or who ſees that it is beſt not to reunite them.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate, and

Moſt humble ſervant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Jan. 20. 1780.

To

To the Reverend CHARLES LAWRENCE, *St John's College, Cambridge.*

DEAR SIR,

NOT many days ago, Dr Lawrence ſhowed me a letter, in which you made mention of me: I hope, therefore, that you will not be diſpleaſed that I endeavour to preſerve your good-will by ſome obſervations which your letter ſuggeſted to me.

You are afraid of falling into ſome improprieties in the daily ſervice, by reading to an audience that requires no exactneſs. Your fear, I hope, ſecures you from danger. They who contract abſurd habits are ſuch as have no fear. It is impoſſible to do the ſame thing very often without ſome peculiarity of manner; but that manner may be good or bad. To make it very good, there muſt I think be ſomething of natural or caſual felicity which cannot be taught.

Your preſent method of making your ſermons ſeems very judicious. Few frequent preachers can be ſuppoſed to have ſermons more their own than yours will be. Take care to regiſter ſome where or other the authors from whom your ſeveral diſcourſes are borrowed; and do not imagine that you ſhall always remember even what perhaps you now think it impoſſible to forget.

My advice, however, is, that you attempt from time to time an original ſermon; and in the labour of compoſition, do not burden your mind with too much at once. Do not exact from yourſelf at one effort of ex-

excogitation propriety of thought and elegance of expreſſion. Invent firſt, and then embelliſh. The production of ſomething where nothing was before, is an act of greater energy than the expanſion or decoration of the thing produced. Set down diligently your thoughts as they riſe in the firſt words that occur; and when you have matter you will eaſily give it form: Nor perhaps will this method be always neceſſary; for by habit your thoughts and diction will flow together.

The compoſition of ſermons is not very difficult. The diviſions not only help the memory of the hearer, but direct the judgment of the writer; they ſupply ſources of invention, and keep every part in its proper place.

What I leaſt like in your letter is your account of the manners of the pariſh; from which I gather, that it has been long neglected by the parſon. The Dean of Carliſle, who was then a little rector in Northamptonſhire, told me, that it might be diſcerned whether or no there was a clergyman reſident in the pariſh, by the civil or ſavage manners of the people. Such a congregation as yours ſtands in much need of reformation; and I would not have you think it impoſſible to reform them. A very ſavage pariſh was civilized by a decayed gentlewoman who came among them to teach a petty ſchool. My learned friend, Dr Wheeler of Oxford, when he was a young man, had the care of a neighbouring pariſh for fifteen pounds a-year, which he was never paid; but he counted it a convenience that it compelled him to make a weekly ſermon. One woman he could not bring to communion; and when he reproved or exhorted her, ſhe only anſwered that ſhe was no ſcholar. He was adviſed to

ſet

ſet ſome good woman or man of the pariſh, a little wiſer than herſelf, to talk to her in a language level to her mind. Such honeſt, I may call them holy, artifices, muſt be practiſed by every clergyman; for all means muſt be tried by which ſouls may be ſaved. Talk to your people, however, as much as you can; and you will find that the more frequently you converſe with them on religious ſubjects, the more willingly they will attend, and the more ſubmiſſively they will learn. A clergyman's diligence always makes him venerable. I think I have now only to ſay, that in the momentous work that you have undertaken, I pray God to bleſs you. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Bolt-Court,
Aug. 30. 1780.

[*Of this Letter a copy is publiſhed by Stockdale; but it is not preciſely what Johnſon wrote. For this reaſon, and to make known the clergyman who was thought worthy of ſuch attention, it is here republiſhed from the original manuſcript.*]

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NUGÆ

Nugæ Anapæsticæ in lecto cusæ

Medico Ægro. S.

NUNC mihi facilis
Liberiori
Curſu ſpiritus
Itque reditque;
Nunc minus acris
Seu thoracem
Sive abdomen
Laniat tuſſis;
Tantum prodeſt
Tempore juſto
Secare venam,
Tantum prodeſt
Potente ſucco
Dulce papaver;
Quid nunc ſupereſt
Ut modo tentem
Quantum ſtrictam
Mollia laxent.
Balnea pellem.
Cras abiturus
Quo revocarit
Thralia ſuavis.
Hoc quoque ſupereſt

Ut tibi, gentis
Medicæ princeps
Habeam grates;
Votaque fundam
Ne, quæ prosunt.
Omnibus, artes
Domino desint
Vive valeque.

March 21. 1782

FINIS.

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